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THE

FIRST CHAPTER

OF

NORWEGIAN IMMIGRATION,

(1821–1840)

ITS CAUSES AND RESULTS.

WITH

AN INTRODUCTION

ON

THE SERVICES RENDERED BY THE SCANDINAVIANS TO THE WORLD AND TO AMERICA.

INDEX

BY

RASMUS B. ANDERSON, LL. D.,

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CLENG PEERSON'S
FOND

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MY FATHER AND MOTHER

WERE AMONG THE IMMIGRANTS WHO

LANDED IN AMERICA IN 1836

AND

TO THEIR MEMORY

I DEDICATE THIS VOLUME.

RASMUS B. ANDERSON.

PREFACE.

The greater part of the contents of this volume has never before appeared in any book and much of it appears now for the first time in print.

To gather the materials for this work I have traveled hundreds of miles to interview old settlers; I have written hundreds of letters in order to secure facts, and I have also examined all the printed documents within my reach.

More than fifty years have come and gone since the time with which this book ends, and of those who assisted in founding the first half dozen Norwegian settlements there are but few living now. They kept no journals or records of the events, and the memories of old men are sometimes treacherous. The author himself, though a son of one of the early immigrants, was not born until after the first chapter of Norwegian immigration had been completed, and hence the difficulty of presenting absolutely reliable information is manifest.

The critical reader may find some inaccura-

cies and some conflicting statements, and I shall be greatly obliged to him if he will make the necessary corrections either publicly or in private communications to me, in order that I may make the necessary corrections in future editions of this book. The reader will also find a number of repetitions. The author would have been pleased to eliminate many of these, but as the book is written mainly for plain people it was thought better to repeat some of the things that had already been told than to be continually referring the reader to some other part of the volume. The aim has been to give as full an account as possible of each of the six separate settlements, and as will be seen the same persons sometimes appear among the pioneers of more than one settlement. It seemed better to restate some of the facts in regard to such persons than to refer the reader back to other pages of the book.

Doubtless there are many names omitted, that ought to have been mentioned, and some of those introduced may have been given more prominence than they are entitled to; but the reason for this is the author's inability to see with sufficient clearness through the veil of time that covers the first epoch of emigration from Norway.

The sketches of pioneers are not well balanced. Some are long, while others are very short. This could not be avoided. In some instances I have been able to secure tolerably full accounts of persons, while in other cases my materials have been most meager, and sometimes the facts are exceedingly limited, where much information would seem to be desirable. All such blemishes I must beg the reader to excuse. In spite of every effort it has in some cases been almost impossible to get more than the bare names of persons. In many instances I have been unable to get into communication with descendants, and then again the descendants have not been in possession of the necessary records. In this connection I would like to impress upon my readers the importance of keeping good family records for the benefit of their descendants and of future historians.

While I make the first chapter of Norwegian immigration end with the year 1840, when we find the Norwegians located in six settlements that became permanent, I have thought best to add to this a short sketch of Norwegian settlements in Texas, and also a brief account of the first religious work done among the Norwegian immigrants. I describe the Texas settlements down to 1850, and trace the religiou-

work in the settlements down to the dedication of the first three Norwegian Lutheran churches in 1844 and 1845.

There are so many to whom I am under obligations for assistance in preparing this volume, that I shrink from undertaking an enumeration of them for fear that I might forget some of those that ought to be mentioned. My obligations to what has been published by Ole Rynning, Johan Reinert Reierson, J. W. C. Dietrichson, Svein Nilson, Knud Langland and others, have been expressed in the body of the work and will be clear to every intelligent reader; but there are a host of others with whom I have been in constant correspondence and while I do not mention them by name in this preface, they know, I think, how grateful I feel toward them for their services. But for their kind assistance the publication of this work would have been an impossibility.

No one can be more conscious than I am of the shortcomings of this volume, and for these I must appeal to the generosity of the reader. All I can say for myself is that I have done as faithful work as the circumstances would permit. Twenty years ago I could have rescued much that is now irretrievably lost to history. For a history of the Norwegians in America

from 1840 down to the present the materials are more abundant, and I am happy to add that besides being still remembered by those living, they are better preserved in written and printed documents.

By postponing the publication of this volume a few years, I have no doubt I could improve it in some respects; but delays are dangerous, and so I now give it to the public with the hope that it will not be found utterly without value.

RASMUS B. ANDERSON.

Asgard, Madison, Wis., March 28, 1895.

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INTRODUCTION.

Services Rendered by the Scandinavians to the World and to America.

Scandinavians is a term used to designate the inhabitants of Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Iceland. In the early centuries, that is, during the so-called Viking age, they are usually treated as one people under the common name of Northmen or Norsemen, but as we proceed into the full daylight of history, it gradually becomes customary to discuss the Scandinavians separately, as Norwegians, Swedes, Danes and Icelanders. Thus, while we designate the old asa-faith of the Scandinavians as Norse mythology, we are expected to know to which of the four countries a modern celebrity or institution belongs. It is necessary to say the Swedish singer, Jenny Lind; the Norwegian violinist, Ole Bull; the Danish story-teller, Hans Christian Andersen, and the Icelandic lexicographer, Gudbrand Vigfusson.

The total number of Scandinavians, including those who have emigrated during this century, is probably less than 11,000,000; 4,775,000 in Sweden, 2,300,000 (including 70,000 Icelanders) in Denmark, 1,800,000 in Norway, and, say, 2,000,000 in America, the British colonies and other countries.

But though they be few in number, they inherit considerable renown. Though confined to the more or less inhospitable northwest corner of Europe, they have rendered the world some services, the memory of which will not willingly be allowed to perish. In Iceland they have preserved and still speak one of the oldest of the Teutonic languages, a monument of the Viking age, which still furnishes the means of illustrating many of the social and political features of those remote times, and is held in deserved veneration by all the great philologists of our day. In the Icelandic tongue we have a group of sagas, a literature which in many respects is unique, and which sheds a flood of light upon the customs and manners of the dark centuries of the middle age. The Icelandic sagas tell us not only of what happened in Scandinavia, but they also describe conditions and events in England, France, Russia and elsewhere. We are indebted to the

Scandinavians for the eddas, for Saxo Grammaticus, and for various other sources of information in regard to the grand and beautiful mythology of our ancestors. Our knowledge of the old Teutonic religion would have been very scanty indeed, had not the faithful old Norsemen given us a record of it on parchment. The grand mythological system conceived and developed by the poetic and imaginative childhood of the Scandinavians commands the attention of the scholars of all lands, and as we enter the solemn halls and palaces of the old Norse gods and goddesses, where all is cordiality and purity, we find there perfectly reflected the wild and tumultuous conflict of the robust northern climate and scenery, strong, rustic pictures, full of earnest and deep thought, awe-inspiring and wonderful. We find in the eddas of Iceland that simple and martial religion which inspired the early Scandinavians and developed them like a tree full of vigor, extending long branches over all Europe. We find that simple and martial religion, which gave the Scandinavians that restless, inconquerable spirit, apt to take fire at the very mention of subjection or restraint, that religion by which instruments were forged to break the fetters manufactured by the Roman Caesars, to destroy tyrants and slaves, and

to teach the world that nature, having made all men and women free and equal, no other reason but their mutual happiness could be assigned for their government. We will find that simple and martial religion, which was cherished by those vast multitudes, which, as Milton says, the populous North

> * * * poured from her frozen loins to pass
> Rhene or the Danaw, when her barbarous sons
> Came like a deluge on the South and spread
> Beneath Gibraltar and the Libyan sands.

During the Viking age we find the Scandinavians everywhere. They came in large swarms to France, England and Spain. During the crusades they led the van of the chivalry of Europe in rescuing the holy sepulcher; they passed through the Pillars of Hercules, devastated the classic fields of Greece and penetrated the walls of Constantinople. Straying far into the East, we find them laying the foundations of the Russian empire, and swinging their two-edged battle axes in the streets of Constantinople, where they served as captains of the Greek emperor's body guard, and the chief support of his tottering throne. They ventured out upon the surging main and discovered Iceland, Greenland and the American continent, thus becoming the discoverers, not only of America,

but also of pelagic navigation. The Vikings were the first navigators to venture out of sight of land. And everywhere they scattered the seeds of liberty, independence and culture. They brought to France that germ of liberty that was planted in the soil of Normandy, where the Normans adopted the French tongue and were the first to produce and spread abroad a vernacular literature; that germ of liberty which, when brought to England, budded in the Magna Charta and Bill of Rights and which, in course of time, was carried in the Mayflower to America, where it developed full-blown flowers in our Declaration of Independence.

The Scandinavians in Denmark, Sweden, Norway and Iceland gave a hearty reception to the gospel and preserved its teachings for many centuries free from Romish corruption. In the Swedish ruler, Gustavus Adolphus, protestantism found one of its most efficient and valiant defenders. The Scandinavians are still faithful to the banner of protestantism. They are distinguished for the earnestness of their religious worship, for their ardent advocacy of the cause of civil and religious liberty, and for the well-nigh total absence of great crimes. Wherever they settle in the world, we find them associated with the most loyal and law-abiding

citizens, giving their best energies to culture, law and order. Proofs of this statement are abundant both in Russia, Normandy and England, and in their more recent settlements in the various Western states of America.

As stated, they have enriched the world with a whole class of literature, which is held in deserved respect. Is not Beowulf, the most important surviving monument of Anglo-Saxon poetry, a Swedish and Danish poem? And was it not first published from the British Museum manuscript by the great Danish scholar, G. J. Thorkelin? And is not the world indebted to Denmark and her traditions for Hamlet, the hero of the greatest drama written by the immortal Shakspere? In Saxo, Hamlet was found as the son of the viceroy, Horvendel, in Jutland, and of Gerude, who was the daughter of Rerek, king at Leire, in Seland, Denmark.

The Scandinavians present to all oppressed nationalities the gratifying example of a people, who, being true to their countries and to the traditions handed down from the mists of ages in the far past, have vindicated for themselves against many opposing and oppressing powers, and in the midst of many obstacles and vicissitudes, their distinctive rights and liberties. A mere glance at the history of Scandinavia is

sufficient to reveal to the student many events and the names of many individuals of far-reaching importance.

I have already enumerated a few of the many services rendered to the world by the Scandinavians of antiquity, and in this connection I may be permitted to mention some of the Scandinavians who in more recent times have achieved world-wide fame. I do this with a view of demonstrating the fact that the Scandinavians, though comparatively few in number, easily rank with the most prominent nations in the domains of science, art and literature.

There is the great Danish astronomer, Tycho Brahe, one of the most marked individuals of the sixteenth century. From his Uranienborg obseravtory his fame spread throughout Europe, and the little island near Elsinore became the trysting-place of savants from all lands. Even kings and princes did not think it beneath their dignity to make pilgrimages to the isle of Hveen. Brahe made his name immortal through his services to astronomy. For thirty years he made regular and careful observations in regard to the movements of the planets, and it was only on the foundation of his vast preliminary labors, which in accuracy surpassed

all that practical astronomy had previously achieved, that Keppler was able to produce his celebrated theories and laws. With perfect justice, it has been said, that Tycho Brahe made the observations, that Keppler discovered the law, and that Newton conceived the nature of the law.

Geology is at the present time a most highly developed science, but its devotees should not forget that the world's first geologist was the Dane, Niels Stensen, who was born in 1638. He was not only the most celebrated anatomist of his time, but he also laid the foundation of the science of geognosy and geology by studying the mountain formations and examining the fossils of Italy, and the result of his investigations were embodied in his "De Solido intra solidum naturaliter contento dissertationis prodromus," a work which may rightly be regarded as the corner stone of geological science.

Archaeology serves as a magnificent telescope by which we are able to contemplate social conditions far beyond the ken of ordinary historical knowledge, and this valuable science was born and cradled in Denmark and Sweden, where the renowned Dane, Christian Thomsen, and the Swede, Sven Nilsson laid the founda-

tion of the systematic study of all the weapons, implements and ornaments gathered from prehistoric times.

Then we have the science called comparative philology. Where did it begin? Who unravelled its first complicated threads? The answer comes from every philologist in the world. It shed its first rays in Denmark, and there Rasmus Rask discovered those laws and principles upon which the comparative study of languages is built. Rask found the laws and they were used as the corner stone of that beautiful and symmetrical pyramid which has since been constructed by the brothers Grimm, by Max Müller, by our own W. D. Whitney and by many other famous linguists, to take the place of that tower of Babel, which the old linguistic students had built with their clumsy hands and poor materials. In this connection I may also mention the Dane, J. N. Madvig, the greatest Latin scholar of this century, a scholar who created a new epoch in the study of the old Greek and Latin texts. The scholars of all lands accept his views as final.

He who would write the history of electricity, must study the life of the great Dane, H. C. Oersted. His discovery in 1820, of electro-magnetism—the identity of electricity and magnetism

—which he not only discovered, but demonstrated incontestably, placed him at once in the highest rank of physical philosophers and he thus led the way to all the wonders of this subtle force. He supplied the knowledge by which Morse was enabled to build the first telegraph line, and he is in fact the father of Morse, Edison, Tesla and of that brilliant galaxy of men who have astonished the world by all their wonderful inventions in the domain of electricity.

The celebrated Danish atronomer, Ole Römer, born September 25, 1644, was the first man to calculate the velocity of light (in 1675), and this fact marks a new era in scientific research. The numerous instruments which he devised gave him the name of "The Danish Archimedes."

Suppose we cross the sound and enter the territory of Sweden. There we at once discover the polar star in the science of botany, in the name of Carl von Linné. In his 24th year he established the celebrated sexual system in plants, whereby the chaos of the botanical world was reduced to order and a fruitful study of botany was made possible. His extensive investigations rightly secured him the title of the king of botanists. As Linné became the father of botany, so another Swede, Carl W. Scheele,

might be called the founder of the present system of chemistry. He is one of the greatest ornaments of science, and the world is indebted to him for the discovery of many new elementary principles and valuable chemical combinations now in general use.

Hardly less conspicuous is J. J. Berzelius, the contemporary of Scheele. Like the latter Berzelius published a number of works, the most of which contained capital discoveries, either the explanation of a phenomenon or reaction previously misunderstood, or the description of some new element or compound. The discoveries made by Scheele and Berzelius in the domain of chemistry are most important, but too numerous to mention in this paper. Berzelius also devoted himself to mineralogy and published his "Treatise on the Blow Pipe," and he set up for himself a regularly graduated system of minerals, the value of which was felt to be so great that the Royal Society, of London, voted him its gold medal for it. Scheele unfortunately died at only 54 years of age, but his works, many of which are regarded as the most important in the whole field of chemical litera ture, appeared after his death in French, Ger man and Latin editions. In Linné, Scheele, Berzelius, and in the naturalist and archaeolo-

gist, Sven Nilsson, mentioned above, Sweden touched the zenith of scientific fame.

Before leaving Sweden, we may be permitted to mention N. A. E. Nordenskjold, who is famous for his various Arctic expeditions, and who, with his Vega accomplished the work so often attempted by many brave explorers, the discovery and navigation of a northeast passage by sea from the North Cape, the extreme northwestern point of Europe, to the extreme northeastern point of Asia, that is, a passage by sea from the north Atlantic ocean eastward to the north Pacific ocean. Nordenskjold has the honor of being the first man to double Cape Cheljuskin, the northern point of the continent, and by his voyage he made many new and valuable additions to our geographical knowledge of the Arctic regions. His signal triumph well deserves the most distinguished marks of honor showered upon him during his homeward journey.

Entering the domain of Norway, we at once meet the brilliant name of the immortal mathematician, Henrik Abel. I have observed that the great mathematicians of our time can scarcely open their mouths wide enough when they want to say A—bel. He unfortunately died too young, but his great fame keeps on in-

creasing. He is justly designated as one of the greatest geniuses ever born in the domain of exact science, and the solution of problems made by the youthful Norwegian everywhere provokes the greatest wonder and admiration. In some of his problems there is incorporated work for a lifetime Though but 27 years old at his death, he had gained wide distinction by his discoveries in the theory of elliptic functions, and was highly eulogized by Legendre.

Norway has also produced the distinguished Arctic explorer, Frithiof Nansen, who in 1888, with three other brave Norwegians and two Lapps, crossed Greenland from the east to the west on about the 65th degree north latitude. This crossing was done on skees, a kind of long snow shoes, and with small sleds, on which they carried their provisions. An account of this first and only crossing of Greenland was published by the explorer, and it is universally conceded that he not only performed a feat of the greatest courage and bravery, but that he also made important contributions to our fund of geographical and scientific knowledge. Nansen has also presented a new plan for reaching the great goal of all Arctic explorers, the north pole, by following the current supposed to flow from the New Siberian islands across or near

the north pole to the sea between Spitzbergen and east Greenland. He has now been absent two years on this voyage of discovery and time alone will demonstrate whether he is destined to become the discoverer of one of the two points on the earth's surface in which it is cut by the axis of rotation.

Ask the Icelanders whether they have produced any name of world-wide reputation, and that whole little island will unite in shouting Albert Thorwaldsen, and the mountains of Iceland will re-echo "Thorwaldsen." He was a descendant of Snorre Thorfinson, who was born in America (Vinland), in the year 1008, and though born of humble parents, he succeeded in developing his talents and became the greatest sculptor of modern times.

I have enumerated only a few of the many services rendered to the world by the Scandinavians. I could easily have added a discussion of such brilliant names as Hans Christian Andersen, Grundtvig, Swedenborg, Tegnér, Bellman, Rydberg, Holberg, Wergeland, Björnson, Ibsen, Snorre Sturlason, Gudbrand Vigfusson, Gade, Hartmann, Grieg, Svendsen, Sinding, Ole Bull, Jenny Lind and many others; but enough has been said on this point to demonstrate the fact that the Scandinavians are the peers of

any other race in every field of intellectual effort. Considering their numerical strength, they have contributed their full share toward the enlightenment and progress of the world.

The brilliant services here cited, and which are universally admitted, have been rendered to the world generally, but I shall now demonstrate by indisputable facts that the Scandinavians have an honorable place in the annals of America. America is indebted to them for special services. The civilized history of America begins with the Norsemen. Look at your map and you will find that Greenland and a part of Iceland belongs to the western hemisphere. Iceland became the hinge upon which the door swings which opened America to Europe. It was the occupation of Iceland by the Norsemen in the year 874, and the frequent voyages between this island and Norway that led to the discovery and settlement, first of Greenland and then of America, and it is due to the culture and fine historical taste of the old Icelanders that carefully prepared records of the Norse voyages were kept, first to teach pelagic navigation to Columbus and afterwards to solve for us the mysteries concerning the first discovery of this continent. In this connection I want to repeat that the old republican Vikings

fully understood the importance of studying the art of ship-building and navigation. They knew how to measure time by the stars and how to calculate the course of the sun and moon. They were themselves pioneers in venturing out upon the high seas, and taught the rest of the world to navigate the ocean. Every scrap of written history sustains me when I say with all the emphasis I can put into so many words, that the other peoples of Europe were limited in their nautical knowledge to coast navigation. The Norse Vikings, who crossed the stormy North sea and found their way to Great Britain, to the Orkneys, the Fareys and to Iceland, and all those heroes who found their way to Greenland and Vinland taught the world pelagic navigation. They demonstrated the possibility of venturing out of sight of land and in this sense, if in no other, we may with perfect propriety assert that the Norsemen taught Columbus how to cross the Atlantic ocean. Into every history of the world I would put this sentence: The navigation of the ocean was discovered by the old Norsemen.

A most admirable introduction of the honorable place held by the Scandinavians in the annals of America is the brilliant fact in the world's history and the lustrous page in the an-

nals of the Scandinavians, that the Norsemen anticipated by five centuries, Christopher Columbus and Amerigo Vespucci, and that the New World was discovered by Leif Erikson in the year 1000; for the finding of America is the most prominent fact in the history of maritime discovery, and has been fraught with the most important consequences to the world at large from that time to the present. About the year 860, the Norsemen discovered Iceland, and soon afterwards (in 874), they established upon this island a republic which flourished for 400 years. Greenland was seen for the first time in 876, by Gunnbjorn Ulfson, from Norway. About a century later, in the year 984, Erik the Red resolved to go in search of the land in the west, which Gunnbjorn, as well as others later, had seen. He sailed from Iceland and found the land as he had expected, and remained there exploring the country for two years. At the end of this period he returned to Iceland, giving the newly-discovered country the name of Greenland, in order, as he said, to attract settlers, who would be favorably impressed with so pleasing a name. Thus, as Greenland belongs, geographically, wholly to America, it will be seen that Erik the Red was the first white man to boom American real estate. And

he did it successfully. Many Norsemen emigrated, and a flourishing colony, with Gardar for its capital, and Erik the Red as its first ruler, was established, which in the year 1261, became subjcet to the crown of Norway. We have a list of seventeen bishops who served in Greenland. This is the first settlement of Europeans in the New World. Erik the Red and his followers were not Christians when they settled in Greenland, but worshipers of Odin and Thor, though they relied chiefly on their own might and strength. Christianity was introduced among them about the year 1000, though Erik the Red continued to adhere to the religion of his fathers to his dying day.

The first white man whose eyes beheld any part of the American continent was the Norseman, Bjarne Herjulfson, in the year 986. The first white man who, to our certain knowledge, planted his feet on the soil of the American continent, was Leif Erikson, the son of Erik the Red, in the year 1000. The first white man and the first Christian who was buried beneath American sod was Leif's brother, Thorvald, in the year 1002. The first white man who founded a settlement within the limits of the present United States was Thorfin Karlsefne, in the year 1007. The first white woman who

came to Vinland was Thorfin's talented and enterprising wife, Gudrid. In the year 1008, she gave birth to a son in Vinland. The boy was called Snorre, and he was the first person of European descent to see the light of day in the new world. From the accounts of these voyages and settlements, we get our first knowledge and descriptions of the aborigines of America. In 1112, Helge and Finnboge, with the woman Freydis, made a voyage to Vinland. In 1112, Erik Upse settled as bishop in Greenland, and in 1121, this same bishop went on a missionary journey from Greenland to Vinland. This is the first visit of a Christian minister to the American continent. The last of these interesting voyages before the re-discovery of America by Columbus, was in the year 1347, when a Greenland ship with a crew of 18 men came from Nova Scotia (Markland) to Straumfjord, in Iceland. Thus it appears that the Vinland voyages extended over a period of about 450 years and to within 144 years of the re-discovery by Columbus in 1492.

While Leif Erikson was the first white man who planted his feet on the eastern shores of the American continent, it was left to another plucky Scandinavian to become the discoverer of the narrow body of water which separates

America from Asia. Vitus Bering was a Dane, born in Jutland, in Denmark, in 1680. He entered the serivce of Russia, and in 1725, he was made chief commander of one of the greatest geographical expeditions ever undertaken. He explored the sea of Kamchatka, and during this voyage he discovered Bering strait, in 1728, and ascertained that Asia was not joined to America. Thus, as the Norwegian, Leif Erikson, is the first white man who sets foot on the extreme eastern part of this continent, so the Dane, Vitus Bering, becomes the discoverer of its extreme western boundary line. They stand at the rising and setting sun and clasp what is now the territory of the United States in their strong Scandinavian arms, and we might here fittingly add a Swede to complete the trio. Did not Sweden give us John Ericsson, who, with his little cheese box, the famous "Monitor," gave most valuable help to this beloved land in the hour of its greatest danger?

Who will deny that the Scandinavians have rendered important services to this country? But we must hurry on.

The first visit of Scandinavians to America proper in post Columbian times is in the year 1619, one year before the landing of the pilgrims at Plymouth. In the spring of that year,

King Christian IV. fitted out two ships, "Eenhjörningen" and "Lamprenen," for the purpose of finding a northwest passage to Asia. The commander of this expedition was the Norwegian, Jens Munk, born at Barby, in southern Norway, in 1579. He sailed from Copenhagen with his two ships and 66 men, May 9, 1619. He explored Hudson bay and took possession of the surrounding country in the name of his sovereign, and gave it the name of Nova Dania. All the members of this expedition perished, except Jens Munk and two of his crew, who returned to Norway September 25, 1620, the undertaking having proved a complete failure. The ship chaplain on this expedition was the Danish Lutheran minister, Rasmus Jensen Aarhus, and my friend, Rev. Adolph Bredesen, of Stoughton, Wis., has called attention to the fact that he was the first minister of the Lutheran church in the New World. Mr. Bredesen speaks thus touchingly of this minister and his ministry among all those who perished from disease and exposure during that terrible winter of 1620, in the Hudson bay country: "Rasmus Jensen Aarhus, a Danish Lutheran pastor, ministered faithfully to these unlucky men, almost to his dying breath. He died February 20, 1620, on the southwestern shore of

Hudson bay, near the mouth of the Churchill river. His last sermon was a funeral sermon, preached from his own deathbed." It is strange that Jens Munk is not mentioned in our English and American cyclopedias.

Norwegians and Danes certainly arrived in New Amsterdam, now New York, at a very early period. The Rev. Rasmus Andersen, of Brooklyn, N. Y., has given this matter much attention, and he claims that he can find traces of Scandinavians in New York as early as 1617. He states that several Danes (more probably Norwegians) were settled on Manhattan island in 1617. In 1704, he says they built a handsome stone church on the corner of Broadway and Rector streets. Here regular services were held in the Danish language until the property was sold to Trinity church, the present churchyard occupying the site of the early building. He adds that "an examination of the first directory published in New York shows many names of unquestionably Danish origin." I have taken the liberty of assuming that these people were Norwegians rather than Danes, and my reason for so doing is that the descendants of those people, whom I have met or with whom I have corresponded, invariably claim to be of Norwegian descent. A very large num-

ber belong to the Bergen family, and their family history was published some years ago in a substantial volume. From this volume I gather the salient fact, that Hans Hansen Bergen, the common ancestor of the Bergen family of Long Island, New Jersey, and their vicinity, was a native of Bergen, in Norway, a ship carpenter by trade, and had removed thence to Holland. From Holland he emigrated in 1633 to New Amsterdam, now New York. In the early colonial records, his name appears in various forms, among which may be found that of "Hans Hansen van Bergen in Noorwegan," "Hans Hansen Noorman," "Hans Noorman," "Hans Hansen de Noorman," "Hans Hansz," "Hans Hansen," and others. The term "Noorman," meaning Northman, clearly refers to Norway, like "in Noorwegan," and was applied to natives of that country. Another very clear instance of this sort is that of Claes Carstensen, who was married in New Amsterdam in 1646. In the marriage entry this Claes Carstensen is said to be from Norway, and he was subsequently called "the Noorman."

Finding a baronial family in Europe by the name of Bergen, some people of that name in this country have flattered themselves that they were scions of that stock, and thus link them-

selves by imagination with the aristocracy of the old world. But, as Teunis Bergen, the author of the interesting and exhaustive volume on the Bergen family referred to above, suggests, they may as well descend from this imaginary eminence and make up their minds that they belong to the commonality and not to the nobility. The Bergens and the Carstensens, like the great mass of the original immigrants to this country, belonged to the humble class of society and came to America to better their prospects and fortunes. It must be sufficient for their descendants to know that their Norwegian ancestors came from a country where the feudal system was never known, where the land was held under no superior, not even the king. They are scions of those Vikings who laid the foundations of Russia, founded a kingdom in France, and another in Italy, and who conquered and carried their institutions into England. They may point with pride to the fact that their ancestors discovered America five centuries before Columbus, but they need not boast of aristocratic blood.

We next come to the Swedish settlement on the Delaware, founded in 1638. This is well-known to most readers, and I will only add that the Swedish language was used in a Philadel-

phia church as late as 1823. But I will here call attention to a fact probably not so well known, that John Morton, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and an active member of the continental congress, born at Ridley, Pa., in 1724, was a descendant of the Swedes on the Delaware. Robert Anderson, the gallant defender of Fort Sumter, against which the first gun of the rebellion was fired, was also a scion of the Swedes on the Delaware. In the language of W. W. Thomas, Jr., "love of freedom and patriotism and state-craft and valor came over to America not only in the Mayflower, but also in that Swedish ship, the Kalmar Nyckel." The first Swedish settlers on the Delaware came in the ship Kalmar Nyckel and the yacht Vogel Grip in 1638.

Among the distinguished representatives of our Swedish American group we may also mention the famous rear admiral of the United States navy, John A. Dahlgren, who was born in Philadelphia in 1809. During the late war he silenced Fort Sumter and received a safe anchorage for the Monitor inside the bar of Charleston, and in this manner effectually put a stop to the blockade running, which had been before so successfully practiced. His name is thus linked with that of the world-renowned

John Ericsson, the inventor of the Monitor, and our navy is largely indebted to Dahlgren for the great improvements in its ordnance, which has taken place since 1840. Thomas F. Bayard, late secretary of state, and now ambassador to England, is proud of the fact that he is descended on his mother's side from the Swedes on the Delaware.

Passing now to the War of the Revolution, many Scandinavians are found serving in the American navy, and doubtless, too, in the army. While investigating this and similar matters some years ago my attention was called to the somewhat remarkable case of Thomas Johnson. In volume 28 (1874) of the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, I find this interesting account of him: "Johnson was the son of a pilot in Mandal, a seaport on the coast of Norway, where he was born in 1758. In the absence of his father, he towed the first American vessel, the Ranger, commanded by Paul Jones, into the harbor of Mandal. After their arrival Jones sent for the young pilot, and presenting him with a piece of gold, expressed his pleasure at his expert seamanship, which he had minutely watched during the towing of the ship into harbor. He (Jones) had made the port of Mandal for the purpose of recruiting

the crew of the Ranger, and satisfactory arrangements having been made with his father, Johnson was received on board as a seaman. On assuming command of the Bon Homme Richard, Jones transferred some thirty volunteers from the Ranger, among whom was Thomas Johnson, who, following the fortunes of his leader, went with him to the Serapis and Alliance, and finally arrived with him in the Ariel in Philadelphia, February 18, 1781, when 23 years of age—the first time he had seen the land of his adoption. At this time congress was sitting in Philadelphia, and several members were removing their families to that city. Application having been made to Capt. Jones to furnish a man to take charge of a sloop to Boston to convey the furniture of John Adams to Philadelphia, he appointed Johnson, who performed the service. This circumstance often brought Johnson in contact with Mr. Adams, who knew that he was one of the crew of Capt. Jones, and consequently must have been in the conflict of the Serapis and Richard, which having occurred so recently, was a subject of general conversation. Many of the sailors frequented the hall of congress, and Johnson became so interested in listening to and observing what was new to him, that he was a daily visitor. When the

members found that the sailors were part of the crew of Capt. Jones, they frequently left their seats and came over to them to inquire the particulars of the recent engagement. Mr. Adams particularly engaged the attention of Johnson. To use the veteran's (Mr. Johnson's) own words, he says 'a nervous sensation seemed to pervade the patriot, as he listened to the description of the battle given by the sailors; fire flashed from his eyes, and his hair seemed perfectly erect; he would clasp his hands and exclaim, What a scene!' During the time they remained in Philadelphia, Gen. Washington arrived and was presented to congress. Johnson was present and listened to the introduction by President Hancock, and the reply by the general. Some days after, when the sailors were in the hall, Mr. Adams brought Gen. Washington to them, who kindly shook each by the hand, calling them our gallant tars, and asking them questions relative to the many successful adventures they had recently achieved. Johnson soon after left the navy and engaged in the merchant service for some years, but eventually returned to it again, where he remained till near the end of life's voyage." This Thomas Johnson assisted Jones in lashing the Bon Homme Richard to the Serapis, and was prob-

ably the last survivor of this celebrated combat. He died at the United States Naval Asylum, Philadelphia, on the 12th of July, 1851, 93 years old, where he had been for many years a pensioner and was known by the soubriquet "Paul Jones." Miss Stafford, who was still living in 1873, had been a frequent visitor to Thomas Johnson while living, and after his death she annually visited his grave, "a tribute," adds the writer, "the humble sailor does not often receive, whatever his services."

This account of Thomas Johnson led me to investigate further into the history of John Paul Jones, and in his biography, written by John Henry Sherburne, register of the navy of the United States, and, published at Washington, in 1825, I found the roll of officers, seamen, marines and volunteers who served on board the Bon Homme Richard in her cruise made in 1779. In this roll the native country of every man is given, and in it I found two seamen, born in Norway, viz.: Lewis Brown and George Johnson; and no less than seven born in Sweden, viz.: Peter Nolde, Charles Peterson, Daniel Emblon (m), Peter Biorkman, Benjamin Gartineau, Peter Molin and Oliver Gustaff. Thomas Johnson is not mentioned, but he is given incorrectly as George Johnson and is mentioned

as Thomas Johnson in the list of wounded. Suffice it here to say that there were Scandinavians who fought and bled for this country in the war of the revolution, as there were thousands, whose blood dampened American soil in our recent war to put down the Southern rebellion.

The brilliant Swede, Colonel (afterwards field marshal) Alex. Fersen, who in 1779 went to France where he was appointed colonel of the royal regiment of Swedes, must not be forgotten. At the head of his regiment he served with distinction in the latter campaigns of the American war, distinguished himself on various occasions, particularly in 1781, during the siege of Yorktown, where he was aide-de-camp to Gen. Rochambeau. He also took part in the negotiations between Gen. Washington and Gen. Rochambeau. He afterwards became marshal of the kingdom of Sweden.

I have myself known Norwegians who served under Gen. Scott in the Mexican war. I have mentioned John Morton and Capt. John Ericsson, and I could have gone on and enumerated many others of Scandinavian birth or descent who have acquired a lasting reputation in the annals of America. To enumerate them all would exceed the limits of this paper, and I

might be charged with partiality if I should attempt to make a selection. Anyone interested may easily find them among our state officials, among our members of congress, among the officers of our army and navy, among our au-journalists, and among our leading merchants and manufacturers, and many of them have played no unimportant part in the history of our country. This much is at least clear, that a complete history of America cannot be written without some account of what Scandinavians have contributed in connection with the discovery and development of this country.

In the above rapid sketch of the Scandinavians in European and American history, I have made many bold and emphatic assertions, and as some of these may be regarded by some of my readers who do not have the time or opportunity to search the records for themselves and find out whether or not these things are so, as wild, unfounded and unsustained by the highest authority, I take the liberty of closing this paper with a few quotations from authors, who can not be suspected of being biased by national or race prejudice.

In discussing the story of Sigurd, the Volsung, as portrayed in the old Norse eddas and sagas, H. A. Taine, the great Frenchman, who

was himself a disciple of Guizot, the historian of civilization, says: "This is the conception of a hero as engendered by the Teutonic race in its infancy. Is it not strange to see them put their happiness in battle, their beauty in death? Is there any people, Hindoo, Persian, Greek or Gallic, which has founded so tragic a conception of life? Is there any which has peopled its infantine mind with such gloomy dreams? Is there any which has so entirely banished the sweetness from enjoyment and the softness from pleasure? Energy, tenacious and mournful energy, such was their chosen condition. In the somber obstinacy of an English laborer still survives the tacit rage of the Norse warrior. Strife for strife's sake. Such is their pleasure. With what sadness, madness such a disposition breaks its bonds we see in Shakspere and Byron. With what completeness, in what duties it can employ and entrench itself under moral ideas, we see in the case of the Puritans." In thus tracing American and English greatness back to the hardy Norsemen, no one will accuse Taine of being influenced by a desire to eulogize his own kith and kin.

In his history of the United States, our American historian, Benson John Lossing uses these pregnant words: "It is back to the Norwegian

Vikings we must look for the hardiest elements of progress in the United States."

The eminent American scholar, B. F. De Costa, says: "Let us remember that in vindicating the Norsemen we honor those who not only give us the first knowledge possessed of the American continent, but to whom we are indebted for much beside that we esteem valuable. For we fable in a great measure when we speak of our Saxon inheritance. It is rather from the Northmen that we have derived our vital energy, our freedom of thought, and in a measure that we do not yet suspect our strength of speech."

Let us take a look into the works of the French historian, Paul Henri Mallet: "History has not recorded," he says, "the annals of a people, who have occasioned greater, more sudden, or more numerous revolutions in Europe than the Scandinavians, or whose antiquities at the same time are so little known. Had, indeed, their emigrations been only like those sudden torrents of which all traces and remembrance are soon effaced, the indifference that has been shown to them would have been sufficiently justified by the barbarism they have been reproached with. But during those general

inundations the face of Europe underwent so total a change, and during the confusion they occasioned, such different establishments took place; new societies were formed, animated so entirely with a new spirit, that the history of our own manners and institutions ought necessarily to ascend back and even dwell a considerable time upon a period which discovers to us their chief origin and source."

After giving a brief description of Scandinavian influence in Europe and the downfall of the Roman empire, Mr. Mallet adds: "It is easy to see from this short sketch how greatly the nations of the North have influenced the different fates of Europe, and if it be worth while to trace its revolutions to their causes, if the illustration of its institutions, of its police, of its customs, of its manners, of its laws, be a subject of useful and interesting inquiry, it must be allowed that the antiquities of the North, that is to say, everything which tends to make us acquainted with its ancient inhabitants, merits a share in the attention of thinking men. But to render this obvious by a particular example: Is it not well known that the most flourishing and celebrated states of Europe owe originally to the Northern nations whatever liberty they now enjoy, either in their

constitution or in the spirit of their government? For although the Gothic form of government has been almost everywhere altered or abolished, have we not retained, in most things, the opinions, the customs, the manners, which that government had a tendency to produce? Is not this, in fact, the principal source of that courage, of that aversion to slavery of that empire of honor, which characterized in general the European nations, and of that moderation, of that easiness of access, and peculiar attention to the rights of humanity, which so happily distinguish our sovereigns from the inaccessible and superb tyrants of Asia? The immense extent of the Roman empire had rendered its constitution so despotic and military, many of its emperors were such ferocious monsters, its senate was become so mean-spirited and vile, that all elevation of sentiment, everything that was noble and manly, seems to have been forever vanished from their hearts and minds, insomuch that if all Europe had received the yoke of Rome, in this her state of debasement, this fine part of the world reduced to the inglorious condition of the rest could not have avoided falling into that kind of barbarity which is of all others the most incurable, as by making as many slaves as there are men, it degrades them

so low as not to leave them even a thought or desire of bettering their condition. But nature had long prepared a remedy for such great evils in that unsubmitting, unconquerable spirit with which she had inspired the people of the North; and thus she made amends to the human race for all the calamities which, in other respects, the inroads of these nations and the overthrow of the Roman Empire produced."

We will close the quotations with the following enthusiastic words of the Scotch author and traveler, Samuel Laing: "All that men hope for of good government and future improvement in their physical and moral condition—all that civilized men enjoy at this day of civil, religious and political liberty—the British constitution, representative legislature, the trial by jury, security of property, freedom of mind and person, the influence of public opinion over the conduct of public affairs, the reformation, the liberty of the press, the spirit of the age—all that is or has been of value to man in modern times as a member of society, either in Europe or the New World, may be traced to the spark left burning upon our shores by these Northern barbarians." Not much barbarism in that!

FIRST CHAPTER

OF

NORWEGIAN IMMIGRATION.

I.

Statistics.

How many Norwegians landed in America between the years 1492 and 1821 it is impossible to determine. We have no government statistics to guide us, and we know there was no regular and systematic emigration from Norway or from any of the other Scandinavian countries. Certainly no Norwegians came in collective bodies and formed settlements, and we are able to trace them only either through their descendants who have kept family records or in the public documents or published works where they happen to be mentioned. In this way Hans Hansen, from Bergen, Claes Carstensen, Thomas Johnson, and the others mentioned

in the introductory chapter have been found. But it is fair to presume that a considerable number of enterprising Norwegians found their way to their old Vinland during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and particularly during the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

In the early days of the republic diplomatic and consular relations were established with the Scandinavian countries, and there was more or less commerce between Norway, Sweden and Denmark and the United States. This official and commercial intercourse would naturally induce some Scandinavians to visit the United States and others to settle within our gates. The many Scandinavian names found in the old directories of New York, Philadelphia and other eastern cities are largely to be accounted for in this manner.

From the year 1820 the United States government supplies us with immigration statistics; but unfortunately for our present purpose Sweden and Norway are grouped together in these down to the year 1868, and hence it is impossible to determine how many came from each country. From the year 1836 we are helped out by Norway, where the government in that year began to collect and preserve statistics of emi-

gration. These early tables are, of course, more or less imperfect, and we are justified in assuming that the actual number of emigrants was larger than the one given in the official tables. In the American statistics the number of passengers and immigrants from Sweden and Norway from 1820 to 1835 inclusive, is given as follows: 1820, 3; 1821, 12; 1822, 10; 1823, 1; 1824, 9; 1825, 4. In evidence of the incompleteness of early statistics I may call attention to the fact, that while the number of immigrants from Sweden and Norway in 1825 is here given as only four, we know that at least fifty-three arrived in that year from Norway alone. The reader will find this statement fully confirmed when he gets to our description of the voyage of the sloop "Restaurationen." The American statistics are continued as follows: 1826, 16; 1827, 13; 1828, 10; 1829, 13; 1830, 3; 1831, 13; 1832, 313; 1833, 16; 1834, 42; 1835, 31. For 1836 the American tables give us 57 immigrants from Sweden and Norway, while we know that at least 200 emigrated from Norway in that year. We now turn to the tables published by the government of Norway and find them given as follows: 1836, 200; 1837, 200; 1838, 100; 1839, 400; 1840, 300; 1841, 400; 1842, 700; 1843, 1,600. From this time on the Norwegians came

to America by the thousands every year and the means and conveniences for emigrating in Norwegian vessels instead of going by way of Gothenborg, Hamburg or Havre, became thoroughly organized and systematized. The immigration from Norway culminated in 1882, in which year 29,101 Norwegians landed in the United States. The total number of immigrants from Norway from 1820 to the present time (1894) is in round numbers about 500,000. The immigration from Sweden during the same period amounts to fully 600,000, and that from Denmark and Iceland is about 150,000, making an aggregate of 1,250,000 Scandinavian immigrants. Subtracting those who have died or who may have returned to Europe, and adding the children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren of the immigrants, the Scandinavian group largely domiciled in the great Northwest, but having representatives in every state and territory in the Union will be found to constitute no small part of our present population. I think we can safely estimate this grand total at 2,500,000, or double the number of actual immigrants. It is a fact well worth noticing in passing, that a larger percentage of the Scandinavians engage in agriculture than of any other group of our population. One out of four

of the Scandinavians engages in farming, while only one out of six of the native Americans, one out of seven of the Germans and one out of twelve of the Irish chooses agriculture as his occupation.

According to a carefully prepared article by S. Sorensen in Minneapolis *Tidende* for December 23, 1894, and based on the United States census of 1890, it appears that the number of inhabitants in America who were either born in Scandinavia or of Scandinavian parents, was: Swedes, 726,430; Norwegians, 596,131; Danes, 213,036, making a total of 1,535,597, but this does not, of course, include grandchildren or great-grandchildren.

While the Scandinavians are most numerous in the northwestern states, representatives of these nationalities are found in every state and territory as is shown by the following table:

States and Territories.	Swedes.	Norwegians	Danes.
Maine	2,546	433	1,099
New Hampshire	1,418	355	82
Vermont	947	38	79
Massachusetts	24,664	3,082	2,057
Rhode Island	4,227	310	142
Connecticut	13,378	543	2,018
New York	39,768	9,444	8,182
New Jersey	5,739	1,530	4,339

States and Territories.	Swedes.	Norwegians.	Danes.
Pennsylvania	27,840	1,458	2,677
Delaware	388	16	58
Maryland	496	253	230
District of Columbia	215	82	137
Virginia	299	139	129
West Virginia	137	9	50
North Carolina	88	15	45
South Carolina	143	29	71
Georgia	337	115	111
Florida	333	272	179
Ohio	4,875	659	1,487
Indiana	7,910	478	1,200
Illinois	131,966	48,091	17,090
Michigan	37,941	11,451	10,180
Wisconsin	29,993	130,737	23,882
Minnesota	155,089	195,764	22,182
Iowa	52,171	59,822	25,240
Missouri	9,537	948	2,470
North Dakota	7,974	47,877	4,032
South Dakota	12,233	38,897	7,199
Nebraska	47,318	6,997	22,267
Kansas	31,492	3,444	5,581
Kentucky	477	43	162
Tennessee	591	76	159
Alabama	423	76	143
Mississippi	526	113	184
Louisiana	698	240	536
Texas	4,655	2,526	1,216
Oklahoma	219	92	67
Arkansas	586	102	229
Montana	4,465	2,662	1,014
Wyoming	1,940	519	1,074
Colorado	12,975	1,299	2,515
New Mexico	215	71	93
Arizona	273	93	411
Utah	10,321	3,247	19,736
Nevada	421	92	558
Idaho	2,332	1,313	2,665
Washington	12,868	11,591	3,949
Oregon	5,235	3,267	1,967
California	15,248	5,421	11,863

The Swedes have their strongholds in Minnesota, Nebraska, Washington, Kansas, Colorado, Utah and Illinois. The Norwegians are comparatively most numerous in North Dakota, Minnesota, South Dakota, Wisconsin, Washington and Iowa. The Danes predominate in Utah and Idaho. The Scandinavians are particularly numerous in the following cities: Chicago, New York, Brooklyn, Philadelphia, Boston, St. Louis, St. Paul, Minneapolis, Omaha and San Francisco.

As will be seen from the statistics which I have quoted above, Norwegian immigration did not amount to much before the year 1836. In that year two ships brought immigrants from Stavanger, an ancient city on the southwest coast of Norway to New York. These were the so-called Köhler brigs, the one named "Norden" (The North), and the other "Den Norske Klippe" (The Norwegian Rock), owned by the Kielland Company. My father, Björn Anderson, from the farm Qvelve in Vigedal, north of Stavanger, my mother, born Abel Cathrine von Krogh, from Sandeid, the next parish west of Vigedal, and my two oldest brothers were passengers in the "Norden," which left Stavanger on the first Wednesday after Pentecost, Capt. Williamson commanding, and arrived in New

York July 12, 1836. The other brig, "Den Norske Klippe," sailed from Stavanger a few days later and arrived about three weeks later in New York. The following year (1837) a ship called "Enigheden" (Unity), Captain Jensen, from Egersund, a small seaport town south of Stavanger, brought ninety-three passengers, and another ship "Ægir" (the name of the god of the sea in Scandinavian mythology), commanded by Capt. Behrens, and carrying eighty-four emigrants, sailed the same year from Bergen, the chief city on the west coast of Norway. From that time on the stream of Norwegian immigration gradually broadens, though it does not become particularly large before the year 1843, but a discussion of it does not come within the scope of this volume. My investigations so far as the actual emigration from Norway is concerned, ends with the year 1839, while so far as the immigrants in the New World are concerned I propose to watch their progress down to the year 1840, when we shall find them located in half a dozen Norwegian settlements destined to become more or less prosperous. I shall also give some account of the first Norwegian settlements in Texas and give a brief account of the religious work done among the Norwegians in America down to the coming of

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Rev. J. W. C. Dietrichson and the dedication of the first three Norwegian Lutheran churches, in 1844 and 1845.

II.

Causes of Emigration.

The two Köhler brigs came from Stavanger in 1836, but just as the Puritans had their *Mayflower* in 1620 and the Swedes on the Delaware their *Kalmar Nyckel* in 1638, so the Norwegians had their little sloop called *Restaurationen* (The Restoration) in 1825, and it was loaded with no less precious human freight.

We are therefore now prepared to go back to the year 1821, where we shall find the beginning and the causes of the modern Norwegian immigration to the United States. Lars Larson (in Norwegian, Lars Larson i Jeilane) was born in Stavanger in Norway, September 24, 1787. He became a ship-carpenter and served on board a Norwegian merchant vessel. During the Napoleonic wars Russia compelled Denmark to make war on England, but was unable to prevent England from sending a fleet to the sound, where a bloody naval engagement

was fought on the second of April, 1801. Six years later in September, 1807, to cross the plans of Napoleon, England bombarded Copenhagen and captured the Danish fleet. The allies of Denmark afforded her no protection. In the Danish war with England from 1807 to 1814, of which the struggle with Sweden in 1808 and 1809 was a mere episode, the commerce and finances of Denmark were ruined, and Denmark as the ally of France was put on a war footing with nearly all of Europe. At the peace which was secured in Kiel in 1814, Denmark lost Norway and other possessions and was left in a bankrupt condition. In the first year of this war, that is in 1807, the ship in which Lars Larson was employed, was captured by the English, and he and the rest of the crew remained prisoners of war for seven years. In 1814, that is immediately after the treaty at Kiel, he with the other prisoners was released, and he thereupon spent a year in London in the employ of a prominent Quaker lady, the widow, Margaret Allen, mother of Joseph and William Allen, who at that time held high positions at the English court. During the period of his imprisonment and during his subsequent sojourn in London, Lars Larson had acquired a pretty thorough knowledge of the English language and

he had also become converted to the Quaker religion. Some of his Norwegian companions in captivity had likewise accepted the Quaker faith. In 1816 Lars Larson returned to Norway and he and his friends at once began to make propaganda for Quakerism and to organize a society of Friends. Two of them, Enoch Jacobson and Halvor Halvorson, went to Christiania, the capital of Norway, and made an unsuccessful attempt at starting a Quaker congregation there. Lars Larson remained in his native city of Stavanger, and there he and Elias Tastad and Thomas and Metta Hille became the founders of the society of Friends in Norway. This society never became large and never spread beyond the limits of Stavanger county, but it still flourishes and to-day numbers about 200 adult members. The first Quaker meeting in Norway was held in Lars Larson's house in 1816. He was not a married man at the time, but his deaf and dumb sister Sara kept house for him. At Christmas in 1824, he married Martha Georgiana Peerson, who was born October 10, 1803, on Fogn, a small island near Stavanger.

During the time of which we are now speaking, Norway, and particularly the southwest coast districts contained a large number of

semi-dissenters from the established church, the so-called Haugians or Readers, followers of Hans Nielson Hauge, a reformer born in Smaalenene, in Norway, April 3, 1771. Though he had only a common peasant's education he began to preach in 1795. He protested against the rationalism and secularization then prevalent among the clergy of Norway. He advocated the right of laymen to preach, and laid special stress upon the spiritual priesthood of all believers, while he was on the other hand charged with an extravagant undervaluation of an educated ministry, of ordination, and of the ceremonies adopted by the state church. As indicated, his zeal secured him many followers, particularly among the peasants, who did not, however, like the Quakers, withdraw from the established church. Still they were looked upon with disfavor by the governing class, and their leader, Hans Nielson Hauge, was imprisoned from 1804 to 1814. He died March 29, 1824. It will be readily seen that the Haugians looked upon their leader as a martyr, and this fact intensified the strained relations existing between the Haugians and the civil and religious rulers of the kingdom. I mention these facts here as they will be found to have some bear-

ing on the story which is to be told in this volume.

It may be said without the least exaggeration that many of the government officials, not only those who had charge of secular affairs, but also the servants of the church, were inclined to be arbitrary and overbearing, and all dissenters from the Lutheran church, which was the state religion, were more or less persecuted by those in authority. The treatment accorded to Hans Nielson Hauge is evidence of this. Although he was guilty of no crime known to the code of morality, and although he was one of the most earnest and sincere Christians in all the land, he, like John Bunyan in England, was made to languish for ten long years within the walls of a prison, simply because he held profound religious views and insisted on practising them. All the followers of Hauge were made to feel more or less the keen edge of scorn from their superiors. But the persecution of the Quakers is particularly a dark chapter in the modern ecclesiastical history of Norway. On a complaint of the state priest, the sheriff would come and take the children by force from Quaker families and bring them to the priest to be baptized. People were fined for not go-

ing to the holy communion. Parents were compelled to have their children confirmed, and even the dead were exhumed from their graves in order that they might be buried according to the Lutheran ritual. These cruel facts are perfectly authenticated, and there is not a shadow of doubt that this disgraceful intolerance on the part of the officials in Norway, as in the case of the Huguenots in France and the Puritans in England, was one of the main causes of the first large exodus from Norway to the United States of America. The very fact that Norwegian emigration began in Stavanger county, and that the emigrants were dissenters from the established church, is conclusive proof of the correctness of this view. Here it was that Lars Larson, Elias Tastad and Thomas and Metta Hille had founded the Quaker society. In the city of Stavanger and in the adjoining county many had been converted to the Quaker doctrine, and there were no Quakers in Norway outside of Stavanger county. As in all lands and times, the beginning of emigration can often be traced to religious intolerance and persecution. Did not France lose half a million of her most desirable citizens on account of the persecution of the Huguenots? Did not the Huguenots flee to

Switzerland, Holland, England and to America? Wherever they settled they brought with them art and manufacture and the refinements of civilization, and so they enriched their adopted countries. And what of the pilgrim fathers who landed at Plymouth in 1620, and founded the first settlement in New England? Were they not men of strong minds, good judgment, and sterling character, and did they not rigidly conform their lives to their principles? Persecution led them to emigrate and in New England they embodied their principles in a framework of government, on which, as a most stable foundation, our own great American republic has been built up. History repeats itself in Norway in the early years of this century, and the sloop, Restaurationen, of which we are soon to speak, left Norway in 1825, because Quakers were not permitted to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience. The story of William Penn is repeated in Norway.

Of course there were economic reasons also, and the emigrants hoped to better their material as well as their religious conditions. It should also be remembered that there was a wide-spread feeling of suspicion and distrust among the common folk of Norway against the

officeholding class. There were many unprincipled officials, who exacted exorbitant and even unlawful fees for their services and with such officials ordinary politeness to the common man was out of the question. Thus poverty, oppression on the part of the officials, and religious persecution coöperated in turning the minds of the people in Stavanger city and county toward the land of freedom, equality and abundance in the far west.

While we are compelled to present this gloomy picture of conditions in Norway in the early part of the century, we are happy to be able to state that things have changed there since then. A broad religious tolerance has been introduced, the best kind of educational laws have been enacted and the official class as a rule, both deserve and get the respect of the humblest citizens. Doubtless the large emigration had a tendency to make the officials less overbearing. It is due to Norway to emphasize the fact that the Norway of to-day is in no way subject to the criticisms we have made upon the Norway of the first half and particularly of the first third of this century.

About 1840 a more humane and progressive spirit began to control the legislators and government of Norway, thanks to Henrik Werge-

land, to Ole Gabriel Ueland, to Ole Vig, to A. M. Schweigaard and to many other heroes of reform, and a number of laws have been passed entirely remodeling the old and narrow institutions of Norway. Laws promoting religious liberty were passed in 1842, in 1845, and in 1851. This liberal spirit culminated in the abolition of the constitutional provision against the right of Jews to reside in Norway. In line with this progress, trial by jury was adopted in 1887, and introduced in 1890. The tendency since 1840, has been steadily toward more freedom and larger opportunities for all classes of citizens.

The emigration from Stavanger afterwards inspired people in other parts of Norway to leave the fatherland and seek homes in America. In each succeeding group there was a pioneer, a leader, and several of these leaders will be more or less fully presented and discussed.

While each exodus down into the forties is a link in a chain beginning with the sloop, Restaurationen, and while religious persecution was one of the chief causes that led to its departure, we shall try to point out what circumstances were mainly influential in promoting emigration from the various districts, and in

this connection we shall call attention to fully a dozen persons who are to be remembered by posterity as the fathers and promoters of Norwegian emigration, as the pioneers and founders of Norwegian settlements in America and as the first ministers to the spiritual and intellectual wants of the Norwegians in the country of their adoption. In some cases we shall let the emigrants themselves tell how and why they came to America.

III.

The Sloop Restaurationen.

All reports agree that Kleng Peerson, from the farm Hesthammer, Tysver parish, Skjold district, Stavanger county, was the man who gave the first impetus to the emigration of the Norwegians to America. In the year 1821, he with a comrade, Knud Olson Eie, or more properly Eide, from the small island Fogn, near Stavanger, left Norway and went by the way of Gothenborg, Sweden, to New York to make an investigation of conditions and opportunities in America. From all the information I have been able to gather, and I have interviewed a large number of the oldest Norwe-

gian settlers in America, there remains no doubt in my mind that Kleng and Knud were practically sent on this mission by the Quakers of Stavanger county. It is nowhere positively stated that Peerson and Eide were themselves Quakers, but I have complete evidence from persons who knew both of them well that they were dissenters from the established church. Kleng Peerson was strongly attached to the Quakers and doubtless sympathized with their religious views, so far as he gave religion any thought, but neither Peerson nor Eide had at this time (1821) any very pronounced religious convictions. While they dissented from the state church they had not accepted the tenets of any other. They appear to have lacked to a great extent the religious temperament. Later on I shall have occasion to discuss this subject more fully, as I intend to present as full an account as possible of the character and career of Kleng Peerson.

After a sojourn of three years in America, all that time presumably spent in and around New York city, where they did such work as they could find, Kleng Peerson, being a carpenter by trade, they returned to Stavanger and to Tysver in 1824. Here their reports of social, political and religious conditions in America

and their description of opportunities in the New World awakened the greatest interest and culminated in a resolution to emigrate. Lars Larson (i Jeilane), the same man at whose house the first Quaker meeting had been held in Stavanger in 1816, at once undertook to organize a party of emigrants. Being successful in finding a number of people who were ready and willing to join him, six heads of families converted their scanty worldly possessions into money and purchased a sloop which had been built in the Hardanger fjord, between Stavanger and Bergen, and which they loaded with a cargo of iron. For this sloop and cargo they paid the sum of $1,800.00 (Norwegian money). While six of the party owned some stock in this vessel the largest share was held by Lars Larson, who was in all respects the leader of the enterprise. He had acquired a pretty thorough knowledge of the English language, during his eight years' sojourn in England, and the general supervision of the preparations and of the voyage naturally fell into his intelligent hands. The captain, Lars Olson and the mate Erikson were engaged by him.

This little Norwegian Mayflower of the nineteenth century received the name Restaurationen (The Restoration), and on the American

day of independence, July 4, 1825, this brave little company of emigrants sailed out of the harbor of the ancient and grotesque city of Stavanger. The company consisted of fifty-two persons including the two officers mentioned, chiefly from Stavanger city and Tysver parish north of Stavanger. There were also a few from other parts of Stavanger county. They were fifty-two when they left Stavanger; but when they reached New York, on the second Sunday of October (Oct. 9), they numbered fifty-three, Mrs. Martha Georgiana Larson, the wife of the leader, having given birth to a beautiful girl baby on the second of September.

Their fourteen weeks' journey across the Atlantic ocean was a romantic and perilous one. The stories of that voyage told to me by one of the party were the delight of my childhood. They passed through the British Channel, and a few days later they anchored in a small harbor named Lisett on the coast of England, where they remained until the next day. Here they began to sell liquor to the inhabitants, which was against the law, and when they perceived the danger in which they had thus placed themselves, they made haste to steer the little craft out upon the boundless ocean. They either must have lost their reck-

oning, or been looking for the trade-winds, or the captain must have been somewhat deficient in his knowledge of navigation, or to take a more charitable view of the case, the wind must have been against them, for when we next hear of them we find them drifting into the harbor of Funchal in the island of Madeira. Near the Madeira islands they had found a pipe of wine floating on the sea. It must have been very old wine, for the cask in which it was contained was entirely covered with huge barnacles. Lars Larson got out in the yawl boat to fish it up and while he was putting a rope around the pipe, a shark came near biting his hand off. To celebrate this piece of good fortune both the officers and passengers had to taste of the delicious contents of the pipe of wine and the result was that the most of them got more or less under its influence. They consequently neglected their duties to the sloop, and came drifting into the harbor of Funchal without colors and without command. Here it was feared that they had some kind of contagious disease on board and one of the officers of a Bremen vessel anchored in the harbor, shouted to them that if they did not wish to be greeted by the cannon already being aimed at them from the fortress, they had better hoist their

colors at once. Thornstein Olson Bjaadland, who was for many years my neighbor in Wisconsin never grew weary of telling me this story and he always added that it was he who hunted up the Norwegian flag which had been stowed away with other baggage, and with the assistance of others ran it up to the top of the mast, thus averting the danger. A couple of custom house officers then came on board the sloop and made an investigation, finding everything in good order. Much attention was shown to the party at Funchal. The American consul increased their store of provisions, giving them also an abundance of grapes, and before their departure, he invited the whole sloop party to a magnificent dinner. They arrived in Funchal on Thursday, July 28, and left the following Sunday, July 31, and as they sailed out of the harbor the fortress fired a salute in their honor.

Four weeks had passed since they left Stavanger and for ten weary weeks more the sloop had to contend with the angry waves of the rough Atlantic. It may be added here that only the captain and mate were seamen in the strict sense of the word; but Lars Larson was by trade a ship-carpenter, and the most of the other adult men on board having been reared

on the coast of Norway as fishermen, were naturally familiar with the sea.

In New York quite a sensation was awakened by the fact that these Norwegians had ventured across the ocean in so small a craft. Such a thing had not been heard of before. Here they also got into trouble with the authorities on account of having a larger cargo and a larger number of passengers than the American laws permitted a ship of the size of the sloop to carry and in consequence of this violation of Uncle Sam's laws Capt. Lars Olson was arrested and the ship with its cargo was seized by the custom house authorities in New York.

But what has become of Kleng Peerson and Knud Olson Eide? They were not passengers in the sloop. Knud Olson is said by some with whom I have talked and corresponded to have remained in Norway until 1837, when he again emigrated to America in the ship "Enigheden" (Unity) from Egersund via Stavanger, a small seaport south of Stavanger. In the summer of 1894, I met and conversed with Ole Thompson (Thorbjörnson) Eide now residing at Sheridan, Illinois. He came from the same place in Norway, that is from the farm Eide on the island Fogn north of

Stavanger, and was also a passenger in the same ship with Knud Olson Eide from Stavanger in 1837. Ole Thompson Eide was unable to give me any account of Knud after they reached Rochester, New York. I afterwards met Mr. Hans Valder (Vælde) from Vats parish, Skjold district in Norway. He also went on board "Enigheden" in Stavanger in 1837 and consequently was a fellow passenger with Knud Olson Eide. He informs me that when they arrived in New York, Knud Eide could get no further from lack of funds. Hans Valder did all he could for him and talked to the other passengers in his behalf. Knud Eide cried like a child and a collection was taken up for him, "and" adds Hans Valder, "he came with us as far as Rochester, N. Y. There he was left with a wife and three or four children. I learned since that his daughters got married, but I do not know where they reside." Mr. C. Danielson Valle from Aurland in Norway also came in the same ship in 1837. By him I am told that "Knud Eide went from Rochester to Michigan. His wife died there. He married again and had a number of children. He became a farmer." As he does not appear to have had any further influence upon Norwegian settlements in America, we might safely drop him here; but from

documents received from New York and which I shall present to my readers later on, I have a strong suspicion that the Knud Olson Eide, who came in "Enigheden" in 1837, may after all not have been the same Knud Eide who accompanied Kleng Peerson on his first visit to America in 1821. According to New York papers published in 1825, Kleng Peerson's comrade died in America before Kleng returned to Norway in 1824, and accordingly Kleng may have gone back to Norway alone.

That a man by name Knud Olson Eide came to America in "Enigheden" in 1837 is certain. On this point we have the concurring testimony of Ole Thompson, Hans Valder and Chr. Danielson. The only question is whether he was the same Knud Olson Eide that accompanied Kleng Peerson to America in 1821. I am sorry that I am unable to give a definite answer. I do not see how the New York papers could fabricate an account of the death of Kleng Peerson's comrade, while I do see how there might easily be two persons by the name Knud Olson Eide from the island Fogn. I shall continue my investigations into this matter.

But Kleng Peerson was in America when the sloop Restaurationen arrived there. Instead of risking his life in the sloop he had

again gone by the way of Gothenborg, Sweden, and was already in New York ready to receive his friends and to give them such assistance as he was able. He had found Quakers in New York, who were prepared to give our Norwegian pilgrims a welcome and such help as they most needed. I suppose the authorities in New York partly in consideration of the ignorance and childish conduct of the sloop immigrants, and partly pursuaded by the intercession of influential Quaker friends, decided to be merciful. The fact, at all events, is that the captain was released from his captivity; and the sloop and its cargo were restored to their owners.

I have it from the lips of passengers who came in the sloop, that the Quakers in New York took a deep interest in these Norwegian newcomers, who were well-nigh destitute of food, clothing and money. These Friends gave many of them shelter under their own roofs, and supplied them with money to relieve their most pressing needs. The Quakers showed themselves in this case as everywhere in history to be friends indeed. Mrs. Atwater, the lady who was born on the sloop, has told me, on the positive authority of her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Lars Larson, how kind the Quakers in New York were to her parents and to all the sloop

people. Enough money was raised by the Quakers to pay the expenses of the immigrants, six dollars for each from New York city to the town of Kendall in Orleans county, New York, where farms could be secured for them.

From the History of Orleans County, by Arad Thomas, I learn that a man by name Joseph Fellows, had been appointed agent to sell a tract of land in Kendall. Mr. Fellows was a Quaker, and he seems to have been in New York city about the time the Restaurationen arrived there, and I presume it was he who suggested the idea of locating these Norwegian immigrants on this land, and in this manner *the first Norwegian settlement in America in this century was founded.*

The captain, Lars Olson, and the mate, Mr. Erikson, who by the way was the only one in the sloop party from Bergen, Norway, remained in New York, and at this point my knowledge of these two persons ends. The leader of the party, Lars Larson, sent his wife and daughter on with the rest of the sloop party to Kendall, but he himself remained for several weeks in New York city, to dispose of the sloop and its cargo. He finally succeeded in selling both for the paltry sum of four hundred dollars. By this time winter had set in and in the early

days of December he set out to join his family. The canal was frozen and he had to skate from Albany to Holley in Orleans county, 23 miles west of Rochester. He did not remain with the colony in Kendall, but went with his family back to Rochester, where he soon obtained employment from a canal-boat builder. He prospered and in a short time he was able to go into business for himself as a canal-boat builder. It will be remembered that he had been a ship-carpenter in Norway and both by his knowledge of English and by his trade he was equipped for his new occupation.

Lars Larson is described as a rather small man, with a smooth, intelligent face, with dark hair which turned gray very early. He was a kind husband and good father, in short, a man of good habits and large-hearted. His home in Rochester was hospitality itself. In the years from 1836 to 1845 he received visits from thousands of Norwegians, who were on their way from Norway to Illinois and Wisconsin. They brought him fresh news from Norway and from him they received valuable information and advice concerning America. His canal-boat business prospered, and already in 1827 he was able to build for himself and family a very

substantial home in Rochester, a house which still stands on the original site and which, without doubt, is the oldest house now in existence, built in America by a Norwegian Argonaut of the nineteenth century. I am most happy to be able to give a picture of this house from a photograph recently taken.

Lars Larson lost his life by an accident November 13, 1845, while on his way to New York with a canal-boat, which he intended to sell. There is also a suspicion that he was foully dealt with. He died from a fall from the boat into the canal, and his family believe that some one must have struck him and pushed him overboard. There never was a thorough investigation into this matter, and I simply report the views of the children now living. He had given his children a good education, and on his death he left them not a fortune, but a handsome competency for maintaining the old home. His widow, Martha Georgiana, a woman of great intelligence and force of character, lived to a ripe old age. I met her in 1875, and was struck with her stateliness and commanding dignity. She had become entirely Americanized, but still spoke her old Stavanger dialect with ease and fluency. Her death occurred in Rochester, October 17, 1887.

Mr. and Mrs. Larson left eight children, six girls and two boys, all of whom are living and all married but one. Their oldest child was born on the sloop Restaurationen in the middle of the Atlantic ocean, September 2, 1825. This was a girl whom they named Margaret Allen, after the Quaker widow with whom Lars Larson had lived for a year or more in London, and through whose influence he had embraced the Quaker faith. Margaret Allen married in 1857 John Atwater, of Rochester, who afterwards became a prominent publisher in Chicago. Mr. Atwater died a few years ago, but the famous sloop girl, now in her seventieth year, is still alive and well. She resides at Western Springs, in Cook county, Illinois, where she has a comfortable home and is surrounded by a family of bright and happy children. Her son John has a large business in Chicago, and also serves as pastor of one of the churches in Western Springs.

Lars Larson's other children are: Inger Marie, born February 18, 1827, married to William F. McFadden, a Canadian, and now residing at Kansas City, Mo.; Lydia Glazier, born November 18, 1828, married to F. C. Whittelsey and residing in Rochester, N. Y.; Elias Tastad, born July 9, 1830, married to an Ameri-

can woman and residing in Rochester, N. Y.; Martha Jane, born July 30, 1832, married to Elias C. Patterson, an inventor of New York, who died in Rochester, N. Y., in 1879. She now resides at Western Springs, Ill. Clara Elisabeth, born July 30, 1834, married to Alfred Willets, and residing in Union Rei, Mich.; George Marion, born July 8, 1841, married a Swedish woman and residing in Lakeside, Mich.; he is a physician. Georgiana Henrietta, born June 19, 1845, unmarried, and keeping the old Rochester home which belongs to the family.

Martha Jane Patterson who, as mentioned above, was born in Rochester, N. Y., in 1832, has the honor of being one of the first persons of the Norwegian group of our population known to have taught in our public schools. She began teaching in Rochester during vacation in 1844, when she was only twelve years old and had about twenty scholars who paid her ten cents a week each. She then attended a ladies' seminary and became assistant teacher in it in 1848. In the spring of 1850 she taught a public country school in Kendall, Orleans county, N. Y., in what many called New Norway. In the spring of 1851 she taught at Lockport, N. Y., and in the autumn of the same year she was given a

position in one of the public schools of Rochester, N. Y. She came west in 1857 and entered the public schools of Chicago as a teacher. Her name deserves to be remembered on that account. Many a Miss Larson or Miss Olson has given instruction in our American common school, but Martha Jane Larson was among the first.

Although New York was a large city in 1825 and although its port was visited by strangers from every part of the known world, it occurred to me that this first coming of emigrants from Norway and that, too, under such peculiar circumstances would scarcely be left wholly unnoticed by the New York press. I had a curiosity to know what impression these first Norwegian immigrants to the United States in this century made upon the newspaper reporters, and accordingly induced my friend, Mr. Robert Lilley, the managing editor of Johnson's Universal Cyclopaedia, to institute a search for me. The search was not in vain. The sloop Restaurationen did attract the notice of the press, and I offer no apology for reproducing here every word that I have been able to find in New York papers in regard to this first company of Norwegian immigrants.

The *Commercial Advertiser* for Monday, Octo-

ber 10, reports in its *Marine List*: "Arr. Danish Sloop Restoration, Holland, 78 days from Norway, via Long Island Sound, with Iron to Boorman and Johnston. 52 passengers." The curious mistakes will be easily detected by the reader. The ship was not Danish, it did not come from Holland and the number of passengers should be fifty-three. The same notice appears verbatim in the marine list of the *New York Gazette* Monday, October 10, 1825, and also in the marine list of the *New York National Advocate* of the same date, and in the marine list of the *New York Daily Advertiser* of the same date, the last paper having the addition "spoke nothing."

In the *New York Daily Advertiser* of Wednesday, October 12, 1825, we find the following most interesting notice, headed "*A Novel Sight.* A vessel has arrived at this port with emigrants from Norway. The vessel is very small, measuring as we understand only about 360 Norwegian lasts or forty-five American tons, and brought forty-six passengers, male and female, all bound to Ontario county, where an agent, who came over some time since, purchased a tract of land. The appearance of such a party of strangers, coming from so distant a country and in a vessel of a size apparently ill calculated

for a voyage across the Atlantic, could not but excite an unusual degree of interest. They have had a voyage of fourteen weeks and are all in good health and spirits. An enterprise like this argues a good deal of boldness in the master of the vessel as well as an adventurous spirit in the passengers, most of whom belong to families from the vicinity of a little town at the southwestern extremity of Norway, near Cape Stavanger. Those who came from the farms are dressed in coarse cloths of domestic manufacture, of a fashion different from the American, but those who inhabited the town wear calicos, ginghams and gay shawls, imported, we presume, from England. The vessel is built on the model common to fishing boats on that coast, with a single mast and topsail, sloop-rigged. She passed through the English channel and as far south as Madeira, where she stopped three or four days and then steered directly for New York, where she arrived with the addition of one passenger born on the way.

"It is the captain's intention to remain in this country, to sell his vessel and prepare himself to navigate our waters by entering the American Merchant Service and to learn the language."

This is doubtless a very faithful description

of the facts. The reporter is mistaken in regard to the number of the passengers and the destination of these immigrants. They were not bound for Ontario but for Orleans county.

In the same paper, *New York Daily Advertiser*, for Saturday, October 15, 1825, we find this ad-additional notice of the sloop party: "The captain and passengers of the sloop Restoration from Norway, desire in this public manner, to express their grateful thanks to John H. March, Esq., American Consul at the island of Madeira, for his humane and generous relief, when compelled to touch at that place for refreshment after a long and perilous voyage, and to the inhabitants of that island for the kind and hospitable manner in which they entertained destitute strangers [*New York National Advertiser*]."

The New York American, Monday evening, October 10, 1825, contains the following notice: "Marine Journal, Port of New York. Arr. Danish sloop Restoration, Holland. 78 days from Norway via Long Island Sound, with iron to Boorman & Johnston, forty-two passengers."

It appears that the *American* has the number of passengers reduced to forty-two.

The notice, entitled *A Novel Sight*, I find was extensively reprinted by the newspapers of the country. I have found it reproduced in whole

or in part in Boston, Cooperstown (N. Y.), in Philadelhpia, Rochester and Cincinnati papers for the year 1825.

On Saturday evening, October 22, 1825, *The New York American* contained the following clipping from the *Baltimore American*:

"The public have already been interested in the account which we republished from a New York paper on Saturday last (October 15) relative to the arrival of a vessel from Norway. This vessel of only forty-five American tons burden contained forty-six passengers, male and female, bound to Ontario county, in the state of New York, where an agent had already been sent who had contracted for the purchase of the land. They set sail from Cape Stavanger and after a voyage of fourteen weeks, arrived in safety. We have learned some particulars with regard to the agent who was sent over here on this business, calculated to set his character in a very interesting light. Two agents were originally sent over by the company and funds appropriated to defray the expense. These funds, we understand, were placed in the hands of a man, who was afterwards unfortunate in business. They then found themselves in a strange land, among a people of different laws, customs, and language, with all of which

they were unacquainted. Determined notwithstanding to fulfil the object of their mission, they resolutely set out on their enquiries, laboring with their own hands to defray their expenses. They proceeded in this manner until one was seized with a malady which brought him to his grave. During all the time of his sickness his confederate, independent of watching by his bedside and performing those kind offices so necessary to the comfort of a dying man, procured the best medical attendance, still laboring with his own hands for his support and debarring himself of the comforts of life, to administer to the necessities of his friend. After the decease of his friend, the survivor left as he was solitary and alone, proceeded on foot to examine the country, the character of the different soils, our mode of agriculture, engaging without any hesitation at any kind of employment to meet the current expenses of the day, by which means he obtained a knowledge of our customs, laws, language and agriculture. In this manner he scoured the vast regions of the west and left a journal from day to day, which in due time he transmitted to the company, by whom he was sent to make the examination. This report was so favorable that the little colony have at length arrived here, to settle

amongst us, and to assume the character of American citizens. They belong to a religion called the Saints, corresponding in many points to the principles of the Friends. We understand furthermore that they have sought an asylum in this favored land from religious persecution and that they will shortly be succeeded by a much larger body of emigrants."

The agent here referred to is, of course, Kleng Peerson. The reader will find some romance in the story, but what it corroborates are the facts, that Kleng Peerson was an advance agent of the sloop party, that these people were Quakers and complained of religious persecutions, and that they expected more to follow them from Norway.

When I received these documents from New York I got what seemed to me to be a possible clue to the fate of Knud Olson Eide, Kleng's companion to America in 1821. The reader will agree with me that there is a possibility if not a strong probability that the person referred to by the *Baltimore American* as having died is the Knud Olson Eide, who came with Kleng Peerson, and that the Knud Olson Eide who came in "Enigheden" in 1837 is another person altogether. Patience and perseverance may yet unravel this mystery.

The New York *Evening Post*, for Tuesday, October 25, 1825, contains the following, copied from the Albany *Patriot* of October 24:

"On Saturday, as we are informed, the Norwegian emigrants, that lately arrived in a small vessel at New York, passed through this city, on their way to their place of destination. They appear to be quite pleased with what they see in this country, if we may judge from their good-humored countenances. Success attend their efforts in this asylum of the oppressed!"

This shows that our immigrants were already on their way to Orleans county, N. Y. The reader will probably agree with me that these first glimpses of Norwegian immigrants in clippings from the American press of the day are most interesting and precious and well worthy of being reproduced and preserved. Imagine my happiness when I received these newspaper clippings in a letter from Mr. Robert Lilley!

IV.

The First Norwegian Settlement in America.

We may now go back and pick up the thread of our story again in Kendall, Orleans county, New York, where we left the majority of the sloop party in the fall of 1825. Kendall is in the northeast corner of Orleans county on the shores of Lake Ontario. Here land was sold to the Norwegians by Joseph Fellows at five dollars an acre; but as they had no money to pay for it, Mr. Fellows agreed to let them redeem it in ten annual installments. The land was heavily wooded and each head of a family and adult person purchased forty acres. During the first year they suffered great privations. The clearing of the forests required hard work. They longed to get back to old Norway, but like Xerxes of old they had burnt the bridges behind them, and a return would be not only humiliating but almost impossible. Joseph Fellows and other benevolent neighbors helped them, and in course of time their industry brought them its reward. As they did not reach New York before the ninth of October,

it was November before they got settled in Kendall, and the cold weather soon set in. The country thereabouts was but sparsely settled in that region in 1825, and there was not much opportunity for getting employment or shelter. Twenty-four of them, including their children, combined and put up a log house twelve by twelve feet, with a garret, giving them just a square foot apiece on each floor. Crowded together in this little hut their patience must have been taxed to the utmost, and only the hope of a brighter future could sustain them under such circumstances. In those days threshing machines were not known, and these first Norwegian settlers made their first little earnings by threshing out grain for the older American settlers with a flail. For this kind of work they got every eleventh bushel. The next year, 1826, they cleared on an average two acres on each of their farms. On this patch of ground they raised wheat which gave them bread for their next winter's support.

I call the place Kendall, but the name of it in 1825 was Murray. The northeast township of Orleans county, N. Y., was originally called Murray, but in 1837 it was cut in two and the north half in which our sloop people were settled received the name Kendall, and throughout

this volume I have used this designation to the exclusion of the original.

We get a glimpse of this first Norwegian settlement in America in this century from a letter written in 1871 by H. Hervig, one of the passengers in the sloop *Restaurationen*.

H. Hervig's letter is published in "Fædrelandet og Emigranten" in La Crosse, Wis., February 9, 1871, and is as follows:

"To the Editor of Fædrelandet og Emigranten. Mr. Editor: Having read in your honored paper several reports from various places in the West, but never having seen anything from here, I think it may be interesting for you and your readers to learn that there also are Norwegians here in the township of Kendall, Orleans county, New York, near by Lake Ontario.

"Although this settlement is small, it should not be forgotten, *for it is the first settlement inhabited by Norwegians here in America.* I and fifty-two other Norwegians went in the year 1825 with a little sloop out from Stavanger.

"After a long voyage we finally arrived safe in New York and went thence to this place in the forest. We were all poor, and none of us could speak English. When we arrived in Kendall the most of us became sick and discour-

aged. The timber was heavy and it took a long time before we could raise enough to support us. After the land was cleared we found the soil to be very good, and a crop grows here as good as in few places in the vicinity.

"There do not come any more any people from Norway, nor is there any land to be had here at a low price, land costing here from $50 to $100 per acre.

"So far as religion is concerned we have many churches and many ministers and various denominations, and some go to church, while others stay at home. We have no controversy over religion, but each one is permitted to believe and think what seems best to him. It does not seem to be that way among the Norwegians in the West, if I may judge from your papers, where there is constantly controversy over religious matters, while there ought to be friendship and love. I must confess that when we first arrived here we thought everything was wrong, when it was not like what there was in Norway. But we soon found that there were good things even among people who worshiped God in another manner than we did, and we found that the difference was not so great after all, when they only built on the right foundation, Jesus Christ, and being reminded that

the constitution of the land permitted every one to worship God in the manner his conscience dictated, we worshiped God in the manner of our fathers and let others have peace to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences.

"Respectfully,
"Your brother and countryman,
"H. HARWICK."

This letter is dated at Kendall, N. Y., January 20, 1871. The writer died thirteen years later at Holley in Orleans county.

We get a very encouraging view of conditions and prospects in the New World from a letter written to Norway by Gjert Gregoriuson Hovland in 1835, after he had lived in the Kendall settlement for four years. Gjert Gregoriuson Hovland left Norway June 24, 1831, and went by way of Gothenborg to New York, where he arrived September 8, having been detained in Gothenborg several weeks. He bought fifty acres of timber land in the Kendall settlement and improved it for four years, when he sold it at a profit of $500. He is loud in his praises of American laws, equality and liberty, as compared with the extortions of the official aristocracy in Norway. He advised all who

were able to emigrate to America, arguing that the creator had not prohibited man from locating in what part of the world he pleased. This and other letters by Gjert G. Hovland to Norway were transcribed in hundreds of copies and passed from house to house, and from parish to parish, and many were in this way induced to think of America and emigration. Gjert G. Hovland removed the same year, that is, 1835, to La Salle county, Illinois, where he died at a very advanced age in 1870. On account of his early arrival and particularly on account of his letters about America to Norway, he is to be counted among the chief promoters of Norwegian emigration to this country.

In the "Pioneer History of Orleans County, New York," written by Arad Thomas and published in 1871, I find the following interesting notice of this first Norwegian settlement in America:

"About the year 1825 a company of Norwegians, about fifty-two in number, settled on the lake shore in the northeast part of the town (Kendall). They came from Norway together and took up land in a body. They were an industrious, prudent, and worthy people, held in good repute by people in that vicinity. After a few years they began to move away

to join their countrymen, who had settled in Illinois, and but a few of that colony are still in Kendall. They thought it very important that every family should have land and a home of their own. A neighbor once asked a little Norwegian boy, whose father happened to be too poor to own land, where his father lived, and was answered: 'O, we don't live nowhere; we hain't got no land.'"

This is touchingly prophetic of the fact that so large a percentage of the Norwegian immigrants have settled on farms and become owners of land.

It will be seen that Mr. Thomas errs when he puts the number at fifty-two. He must have heard of the sloop with its fifty-two passengers leaving Norway. We know that the captain and the mate did not go to Kendall; but of course Kleng Peerson went there, so that there probably were about fifty persons in the Kendall settlement in the fall of 1825. Lars Larson and his family probably remained there until the spring of 1826.

I have made all the investigation possible in regard to this first Norwegian settlement in America since the days of Leif Erikson in Vinland, and I find that a considerable number of the descendants of the original settlers are

still living there. They are thoroughly Americanized, but there are still among them later comers from Norway, who are able to speak the Norwegian tongue. Many of them are relatives of Lars Larson, the leader of the sloop party.

In January, 1895, I received a letter from Canute Orsland, whose father originally settled in Indiana, and he gives the following list of Norwegians now residing in Kendall with the year (approximately) when they immigrated.

Canute Orsland, a son of Ole Aasland, who came from Norway in 1838.

Harry B. Orsland, a son of Ole Aasland.

John Johnson, who came from Norway in 1857.

Rasmus Danielson, who came from Norway in 1858.

Chas. Lind, who came from Norway in 1871.

M. Anderson, who came from Norway in 1882.

Ellen Lind, who came from Norway in 1883.

Claudine Lind, who came from Norway in 1883.

Andrew Halvorson, born in Kendall, his parents having come from Norway in 1840.

Anna Anderson, who came from Norway in 1887.

Martin Larson, who came from Norway in 1891.

Börre Næs, who came from Norway in 1854.

Christopher Anderson, who came from Norway in 1852.

Caroline Shulstead, who came from Norway in 1853.

Eliza Parker, who came from Norway in 1870.

Lars Anderson, who came from Norway in 1891.

Andrew J. Stangeland, born in the settlement, but his father came in the sloop.

Mr. Orsland writes me that these people are largely related to each other by blood or marriage.

Martha Jane Larson (now Mrs. Patterson) taught public school in this settlement in 1850, and at that time it contained about a dozen Norwegian families, but they seemed entirely cut off from any report either with Norway or with their countrymen in America.

Before leaving Kendall, I will here present to my readers the last communication that I have thus far received from this interesting old settlement. Miss Anna Danielson gives a most vivid picture of the Kendall colony of today. Here it is:

"Kendall, N. Y., Feb. 28, 1895.

"Prof. Rasmus B. Anderson—

"Dear Sir:—In replying to your letter written to my father, asking for information of this first Norwegian settlement in America, I will do the best I can. Mr. Henry Harwick (Henrik Hervig), Mr. Nels Nelson, Mr. Andrew Stangeland and Mr. Ole Johnson were among the first settlers here as they all came in the sloop in 1825. The first three came directly to Kendall, and Kleng Peerson was their leader. He had been to America before and had gone back to Norway to proclaim the news about this wonderful free land. The sloop party was organized and as you know, many came at that time to America. Only a few remained in Kendall. The country was then new, and rich only in beautiful forest trees. What is now fine farming land was then only a vast wilderness. Those Norwegians who came to Kendall built a log house, and all lived together for a short time. As soon as they were able, they began clearing up the land and making homes for themselves. Mr. Nels Nelson (Hersdal) was not content here, and so he moved west after a few years. He settled in Illinois, where he died a few years

ago, a rich man. Mr. Harwick lived on his farm for many years, one mile east and one mile north of the village of Kendall. There his five children were born and there four of them and also his wife died. In 1876, he and his daughter Christiana moved to the village of Holley, where they died a few years ago. Mr. Harwick lived to bury all his family. He had braved many of life's storms, had climbed the ladder of fortune, and died a well-to-do man. Mr. Andrew Stangeland has been dead many years. He, like many others, wandered westward and died in Indiana. One of his sons, Andrew J., still lives in Kendall on what is still called the Norwegian road. It was on that road the Norwegians first settled. Andrew J. Stangeland has a family of six girls and two boys. Mr. Ole Johnson came over in the sloop, but did not come directly to Kendall. He remained in Rochester a few years. He crossed the water again in 1826, and when he returned in 1827, he brought a wife with him. She did not live long. He was married three times. With his last wife he came to Kendall and settled on a farm on the shore of the lake. Two of his five daughters are living, viz., Inger, who never married and who resides in Rochester, where her father died, and Phoebe, now liv-

ing in Birch Run, Michigan, and married to Marshall Colon. After a time, Mr. Johnson got tired of the country and moved back to Rochester, where he could attend his church, he being a Quaker.

"Mr. Claus Shulstead was also one of the old settlers of Kendall. He first spent some years in Rochester. His farm was on the shore of the lake. Mr. Shulstead served in the late war and he died last fall (1894), and his widow Caroline still lives on the farm. Mr. and Mrs. Shulstead were real Nowegians and always spoke to each other in their own language. Ole Orsland (Aasland) came to this country in 1838. He first came to Kendall and helped clear the trees away. He, too, settled on the Norwegian road. He has been dead about thirty years, but he has two sons still living here, Harry and Canute. Harry was about 10 years old when his parents came to this country. He served in the late war and now lives on a farm in Kendall. Canute Orsland lives on his father's old homestead.

"Mr. John Johnson (my grandfather) and his two daughters Inger and Elisabeth (my mother) and son John came to America in 1857. They were nine weeks crossing the water. They came to Kendall and Mr. Johnson, Sr., did not

live many years. His birthplace was two Norwegian miles northeast of Stavanger in Norway. Mr. John Johnson, Jr., was married when he came here and then had three children. Three of his six children were born here. Only two are now living: Mrs. Inger Orsland (wife of Canute Orsland) and Canute Johnson, who lives in Mikado, Michigan.

"My father, Rasmus Danielson, came to America in 1858. His home in Norway was six Norwegian miles northeast of Stavanger. He was married to Elisabeth Johnson in 1858. My parents lived in Kendall until 1866. Then they went west to Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota. They did not remain in the west, but returned satisfied that the Empire state was the best after all, and they have lived here contentedly ever since. Their home is one mile north of Kendall village. They have two children, Daniel and Anna (my name).

"There are a few young men who have come here the last few years, they work for the different farmers. Very few of those who come now stay very long. They go to the west. The few families remaining here have made up their minds to be Americans. They do not wish to forget their old homes across the sea, but they try to do as the Americans do, and the most of

them now attend the Methodist church at Kendall. At present there are only two of the descendants of those who came in the sloop, now living in Kendall. They are Mr. Andrew J. Stangeland and my mother, and of course their children.

"Now Mr. Anderson, I think I have given you all the information I can think of. If there is anything else you would like to know, you may write and I will be pleased to answer.

"I hope that what I have written may be of some benefit to you.

"Sincerely yours,
"ANNA DANIELSON."

In this manner, then, began the great Scandinavian exodus of the nineteenth century, which has brought 1,250,000 immigrants, and thus was founded the first settlement, which has been followed by so many large and thrifty ones throughout the northwest.

V.

The Sloop Party.

As this sloop party will always be of the greatest interest to all Scandinavians and their descendants in this country, I have taken all possible pains to ascertain definitely who the fifty-three persons were who came in it. By the aid of the survivors and various others who knew them, I believe I am able to present a well-nigh perfect list of the adult members, with the number of children in each family. As there may possibly be some confusion, particularly of adults and children, I hold the list subject to revision and correction in future editions of this work, and I shall be very grateful for any corrections that anybody will have the kindness to send me, but I do not think the list as here given will be found to contain many errors. Here it is:

1--3. Lars Larson i Jeilane, wife and daughter, now Mrs. Atwater.

4--9. Cornelius Nelson Hersdal, wife and four children.

10--13. Johannes Stene, wife and two children.

14--18. Oyen Thompson (Thorson), wife and three children.

19--25. Daniel Stenson Rossadal, wife and five children.

26--30. Thomas Madland, wife and three children. The above named six families were the owners of the sloop, of which Lars Larson owned the largest share.

31--35. Simon Lima, wife and three children.

36--37. Nels Nelson Hersdal and wife Bertha.

38. Jacob Anderson (Slogvig).

39. Knud Anderson (Slogvig).

40. Sara Larson, deaf and dumb sister of Lars Larson.

41--2. Henrik Christopherson Hervig and wife.

43. Ole Johnson.

44. Gudmund Haugaas.

45. Thorstein Olson Bjaadland.

46. George Johnson.

47. Andrew (Endre) Dahl, the cook.

48. Halvor Iverson.

49. Nels Thompson, a brother of Oyen Thompson.

50. Ole Olson Hetletvedt.

51. Andrew Stangeland.

52. Lars Olson, the captain.

53. Mr. Erikson, the mate.

I have myself seen and talked with eight of the sloop passengers, viz.: Thorstein Olson Bjaadland, Mrs. Lars Larson and her daughter, Mrs. Atwater, Nels Nelson Hersdal and his wife, Mrs. Hulda Olson, a daughter of Daniel Stenson Rosdal (Rossadal), Mrs Martha Fellows and Mrs. Inger Mitchell, the last two, daughters of Cornelius Nelson Hersdal; and I have had considerable correspondence with a ninth and tenth, Mrs. Sara T. Richey, a daughter of Oyen Thompson, and Mrs. Jacob Anderson (Slogvig), the daughter of Thomas Madland.

Of Lars Larson and his family I have already given a sufficiently full account.

Cornelius Nelson Hersdal, born in the year 1789, and his wife Caroline (Kari), born Peerson, a sister of Kleng Peerson, both from Tysver Parish, Skjold District, Stavanger Amt (county), settled in Kendall, N. Y., where he died in December, 1833. He was an older brother of Nels Nelson Hersdal, of whom more later on. He had been a soldier in the last war in Norway. Cornelius and his wife had in all seven children: Ann, Nels, Inger and Martha, born in Norway, and passengers on the sloop;

and Sarah, Peter C. and Amelia, born in Kendall. The widow, Kari, came with her family to Mission, La Salle county, Ill., in May, 1836, and for some months in 1837 my parents lived at her house. Kari Nelson died at Mission, July 24, 1848. The oldest daughter, Ann, was born in Norway in 1814, and died in Illinois in 1858. The oldest son, Nels, was born in Norway, June 29, 1816. He became a farmer and stock raiser in La Salle county, Ill. He married Catharine, a daughter of Knud Iverson, and had twelve children, of which seven reached maturity. He died in Sheridan, Ill., August 29, 1893, and was the last male survivor of the famous sloop party. His widow and four children are still living.

Nelson's daughter, Inger, was born in Tysver, December 11, 1819, and in 1836 she married John S. Mitchell, of Ottawa, Ill. She is now a widow and still resides in Ottawa.

Martha, her sister, was born in Tysver, September 27, 1823. She married Beach Fellows, who had settled in Mission, May 1, 1835. In 1855 he was elected county treasurer and moved to Ottawa and lived there until his death. The widow is still a resident of that city.

Sarah was born in Kendall, N. Y., February 16, 1827. On July 2, 1849, she married Canute

Peterson Marsett, who came from Norway in 1837, and who afterwards became a Mormon bishop at Ephraim, Utah. She and her husband are still living. They have seven children and thirty-two grandchildren. Her oldest son, Peter Cornelius, born at Salt Lake City, June 2, 1850, was the first child born of Norwegian parents in Utah.

Sarah has, so far as I have been able to make out, the honor of having been the first one of the Norwegian immigrants and their descendants to teach public schools in America. In a letter to me dated at Ephraim, March 9, 1895, she informs me that she taught district school in the Fox River settlement in 1845 and 1846, and I have not found any one else who has as old a claim as hers to that honor.

Peter C. Nelson, the youngest son, was born in Kendall, N. Y., January 20, 1833. He is a farmer in Larned, Kansas, and has nine children and twenty-three grandchildren living. I am indebted to him for many valuable facts in regard to the family history.

The youngest daughter, Amelia, was born in Kendall in 1833, the same year that her father died, and she was only twenty-one years old when she died in Mission in 1854.

A daughter of P. C. Nelson, of Larned, Kan-

sas, is the wife of Henry W. Johnson, who is at present judge of the county court of La Salle county, Ill., and resides at Ottawa.

J. A. Quam, a prosperous merchant in Sheridan, Ill., is married to another daughter of Peter C. Nelson. Both to Mrs. Bishop Peterson, and to Judge H. W. Johnson and to Mr. J. A. Quam I am greatly indebted for assistance in gathering facts about the sloop party.

Of Johannes Stene, wife and two children, I have obtained no trace beyond the fact that they went to Kendall.

Oyen Thompson (Thorson) was born on a farm named Brastad, about twenty miles south of Stavanger, in Norway, in the year 1795, and died in Rochester, N. Y., August 26, 1826. The widow of this slooper married her husband's brother, Nels Thompson (who also came in the sloop) in 1827, and in 1828 they moved to Kendall. Mrs. Thompson's name was Bertha Caroline, and she was born about ten miles south of Stavanger, in 1790. In 1834 Nels Thompson and his wife removed to La Salle county, Ill., and there Bertha Caroline died in the town of Norway, July 11, 1844.

Oyen Thompson had three daughters with him in the sloop. One by name Caroline was born in March, 1825, and died in Rochester,

N. Y., July 26, 1826. Another daughter, Anna Maria, was born in Norway, August 30, 1819. She was the first wife of Wm. W. Richey, and died in La Salle county, June 9, 1842, leaving a son. The third daughter to be mentioned is the oldest. Her name is Sara, and she was born March 6, 1818. She came with her mother, stepfather and one sister and one half-brother and two half-sisters to La Salle county, where her parents settled as farmers. There she became the wife of George Olmstead, March 20, 1837. Mr. Olmstead died July 31, 1849, from cholera, and Sara remained in Ottawa until 1855, when she married her sister's widower, William W. Richey, and moved to Marseilles, Ill., where she resided eighteen years, and then removed to a farm in the town of Brookfield, south of Marseilles, and after living there nine years, she settled in Guthrie Center, Iowa, where she still resides. About nine years ago she secured a divorce from Mr. Richey, and is now living alone, a hale and hearty woman, whom to know is to love.

Nels Thompson and Bertha Caroline had three children: a daughter, Serena, born March 18, 1828, in Kendall, N. Y.; died in Norway, Ill., July 6, 1850; a son, Abraham, born in Kendall,

N. Y., December 23, 1830; died in Marseilles, Ill., February 16, 1866; and a daughter, Caroline, born in Kendall, N. Y., July 15, 1833, and died at Marseilles, Ill., August 30, 1858. The father, Nels Thompson, died in La Salle county in July, 1863.

Mrs. Sara T. Richey is the mother of eight children, four girls and four boys, five by her first husband and three by her second. Only three are living and these are: Benson C. Olmstead and Chas. B. Olmstead, both farmers in Guthrie county, Iowa; Cora A. Richey, now Mrs. Morris, residing in Nebraska, and Will F. Richey, a farmer in Guthrie county, Iowa. The portrait of Sara T. Richey is from a photograph taken when she was 76 years old.

Daniel Rosdal and family came from Tysver and settled in Kendall. They left Kendall in 1835 and moved to La Salle county, Ill. Daniel died there in 1854, and his wife Bertha died the same year, March 10, 1854. The following five children were born in Norway and came in the sloop: Ellen, born September 26, 1807; Ove, born December 4, 1809; Lars, born February 20, 1812; John, born June 2, 1821; Hulda, born February 20, 1825; one child, Caroline, was born to them in Kendall, April 1, 1829.

Lars Rosdal went into the first grave made

by Norwegians in La Salle county, Ill. He died in 1837. Ellen married Cornelius Cothrien. Ove died in Iowa in 1890, but was buried in La Salle county, Ill. John died in La Salle county, Ill., in May, 1893. Ellen and Caroline are also dead, but Hulda is still living in Sheridan, Ill. She married Rasmus Olson, who died at Sheridan in 1893. The portrait given of Hulda Olson is from a photograph taken nine years ago.

The youngest daughter, Caroline, married Jens Jacobs in 1847. They farmed it for a while in La Salle county, and in 1865 Jens bought 240 acres of land in Livingston county, Ill. There Jens Jacobs died October 28, 1865, and his widow, Caroline, June 22, 1894. They left six children, five boys and one girl, all of whom are living. These six children are: Mary, born in 1848, married to F. M. Brown, and living in Jerauld county, S. D.; Jacob, born 1850, married to Ellen Brown, a sister of F. M. Brown, and living in Livingston county, Ill.; Daniel, born 1852, not married, and living at Emington, Ill.; James B., born in 1856, married to Dollie Lewis, and is a real estate agent in Emington, Ill.; John, born in 1858, married to Ida Erikson and residing in Humboldt county, Iowa; and finally Joseph, born in 1862, married to Mary Erikson, and living in La Salle county,

Ill. The Rosdals were zealous Quakers and remained faithful to the creed of their adoption to the end.

Thomas Madland was born in Stavanger in 1778, and died in June, 1826, the year after he settled in Kendall. His wife was born in 1768, and died in Kendall in 1829. Thomas Madland was a blacksmith in Norway and when he emigrated he left three of his children in Norway, Jens, Martha and Christina. To Jens, who was then twenty-one years old, he left his blacksmith shop in full running order, and his home. Jens with his wife and a large family of children finally emigrated to America in 1859, and died about ten years ago in Sauk Center, Minn. A son of his, by name J. O. D. Madland, is now a merchant in Ashby, Grant county, Minnesota. Thomas Madland and wife brought three daughters with them in the sloop, Rachel, Julia and Serena. Rachel married the captain of the sloop, Lars Olson, and died in New York city. She was born in 1807, but I do not know the year she died.

Julia married Gudmund Haugaas in Kendall in 1827, and died in the Fox River settlement in the spring of 1846. She was born 1810.

Serena was born January 1, 1814. On March 1, 1831, she married Jacob Anderson (Slogvig),

at Kendall, in the woods near Lake Ontario, in the same place where her sister Julia had been married. She moved first to the Fox River settlement and afterwards to California, where she is still living, being now over eighty-one years old. Her home is in San Diego with her son, Andrew J. Anderson. My last letter from this dear old lady was written at Fruito, Glenn county, California, March 11, 1895, and it shows her to be in the full vigor of her mental and physical powers. She sent me her photograph taken about ten years ago. Her husband, who was born June 8, 1807, died in California, May 5, 1864.

In regard to Simon Lima, wife and three children, Mrs. Sara T. Richey writes to me that they probably lived and died in Rochester, N. Y. Besides the letter from Mrs. Richey I have no knowledge of them beyond their being born about twenty Norwegian miles south of Stavanger and locating in Kendall in 1825.

Nels Nelson Hersdal was a younger brother of Cornelius Nelson, and his wife Bertha was a sister of Henrik Christopherson Hervig (Harwick). Nels Nelson Hersdal was born in Tysver, July 4, 1800, and his parents were Nels Corneliuson Hersdal and Susanne, a daughter of Erik Hervig. His wife Bertha was born May 2,

1804, and was the daughter of Christopher Christopherson Hervig and Cecelia, a daughter of Henrik Dueland. They were married in the spring of 1825, and came from Tysver Parish, north of Stavanger. Nels Nelson settled in Kendall in 1825, and in 1835 he went out to La Salle county, Ill., where he got 640 acres of land from Joseph Fellows in exchange for 100 acres that he owned in Kendall, but he did not take his family out to Illinois before 1846. Of his first visit to Illinois his son, Ira Nelson, of Ottawa, has told me that he footed it from Kendall to Buffalo, N. Y., then worked his way to Chicago on a steamboat, getting three dollars per day. On his return to New York state he worked his way to Detroit and then footed it to Buffalo, beating the stage. In Buffalo he was much admired and entertained for having made better time than the stage. He was known by the name, Big Nels, and was a powerful man. Nels Nelson Hersdal's wife died December 29, 1882, and he lived until September 21, 1886. They had eleven children, of which two, Peter and Ira, are now living in La Salle county, Ill.

Jacob Anderson Slogvig and Knud Anderson Slogvig were brothers. Jacob moved from Kendall to La Salle county in 1834. He mar-

ried, as stated, a daughter of Thomas Madland, and as near as I can make out he went to California soon after 1850. He accumulated considerable wealth and died in California in 1864. He was born in 1807. His widow and at least one son are living in San Diego, Cal. Knud Slogvig came from Kendall to La Salle county, Ill., in 1834, and in 1835 he went back to Norway where he married a sister of Ole Olson Hetletvedt, and was successful in promoting emigration. He was the main cause of the great exodus in the two Köhler brigs from Stavanger in 1836, in one of which ships he returned to America. In 1837 we find him with Kleng Peerson on a journey to Shelby county, Mo., where Kleng and others went to found a new settlement, but Knud Slogvig returned to La Salle county at once. He and his wife afterwards removed to Lee county, Ill., where they both died.

Sara Larson, deaf and dumb sister of Lars Larson (i Jeilane), lived and died at her brother's house in Rochester, N. Y.

Henrik Christopherson Hervig (Harwick) never came west. He and his wife were born in Tysver, in Norway, and both settled in Kendall. They both came in the sloop, but were not married until after they arrived in Kendall.

I have already reproduced a newspaper article by Henrik Hervig, written by him from Kendall in 1871. Miss Anna Danielson writes me under date of February 28, 1895, in regard to him, that he died at Holley, Orleans county, in the summer of 1884. His wife and all his children were dead before that. Martha, his wife, died in August, 1868. Mr. Hervig was a farmer when he lived in Kendall, and at Holley he did nothing as he had saved up enough for his comfort. But it is doubtful whether his last days were as happy as when he was working hard on his farm, for then he was surrounded by his wife and children, while during the last days of his life he had to depend on strangers. It is related that Mrs. Martha Hervig walked from Kendall to Rochester, a distance of thirty-two miles, in one day. This is the kind of stuff the sloop people were made of!

Ole Johnson went back to Norway in 1826, and in 1827, he returned with a wife and after spending a few years in Rochester settled in Kendall, but in his old age he moved to Rochester. He was a Quaker and wanted to live where he could attend the church of the Friends. He died in Rochester in March, 1877. He was married three times. His first wife was named Malinda, and both the second and third

bore the name Ingeborg. By his first wife he had three children all of whom are dead. He had no children by his second wife, but by his third wife he had three children, two of whom, Phoebe and Inger, are living. In Kendall, Ole Johnson lived on the shore of Lake Ontario. In a terrible storm a ship was washed ashore, or rather into shallow water, and the vessel had to remain there several days and wait for help. The sailors went up to Ole Johnson's house, and there the mate of the ship, Marshall Colon, became acquainted with Phoebe Johnson and afterwards married her. Mr. and Mrs. Colon now reside at Birch Run, Michigan.

Gudmund Haugaas settled in Kendall, in 1825. He was married in Kendall, New York, to Julia, a daughter of Thomas Madland. He was one of the first Norwegian settlers in Illinois, coming to La Salle county in 1834. Gudmund and Julia had ten children. Julia died in La Salle county, Illinois, December 24, 1846, and Gudmund Haugaas afterwards married Miss Caroline Hervig, a sister of Henrik Hervig and of Bertha Nelson Hersdal. He was a well educated man. In his early life he was a wheelwright, but he was fond of books and a great reader. In Illinois he became an elder in the church of the Latter Day Saints (Mor-

mons), an office, which the members of that church say he held with honor both to himself and to the cause until his death. He also practiced medicine among the first Norwegian settlers in America, and it is said with good success. I have myself talked with people who were helped by Dr. Haugaas in cases of severe illness. We may safely say that Gudmund Haugaas was one of the first preachers and first physicians among the Norwegian immigrants in this century. He died on his farm between Ottawa and Norway, of cholera, July 28, 1849. His widow Caroline died in April, 1852. Thomas, one of his sons by his first wife, is now the preacher of a church of the Latter Day Saints in La Salle county, Illinois, and a daughter by his second wife is Caroline C., wife of Dr. R. W. Bower, in Sheridan, Illinois. A son of this last couple is Dr. G. S. Bower, a physician in Ransom, Illinois. A son of Gudmund Haugaas is Daniel Haugaas, now living in Henderson, Iowa, and Mrs. Isabel Lewis of Emington, Illinois, is a daughter of Gudmund Haugaas.

Thorstein Olson Rjaadland was born in Haa parish about 28 Norwegian miles south of Stavanger. He did not know his birthday, but he frequently told me that he was thirty years

old when he emigrated in the sloop in 1825; hence he must have been born about the year 1795. In Norway he spent five years in the employ of the government as a mail-carrier. Thorstein Olson lived a few years in Kendall and then went to Michigan (to what part I do not know) and there served an apprenticeship at the shoemaker's trade. From Michigan he returned to Kendall, and in 1834 he joined those who went with Kleng Peerson, to La Salle county, Illinois, where he bought a small farm and built a little log house on it, and for some time prosperity seemed to favor and reward him for his industry; but the Indians, he said, set fire to the prairie grass, and the fire spread over his farm and burned his log house with all its contents to the ground. He then built another log house like it and remained on his Illinois farm until 1840, when in company with my father and others he removed to Albion, Dane county, Wisconsin, where he bought a farm of 80 acres, but he was not thrifty and he died a poor man in a small log house on my father's farm, May 7, 1874. In 1844, he married Guro Olson, from Thelemarken, in Norway, and at this writing his widow and six children, three sons and three daughters, are living. His oldest son, Ole Thorsteinson, served as a brave

soldier through the war in the 15th regiment, Wisconsin vol., and has during the last few years been postmaster in London, Wisconsin.

George Johnson came from Kendall to La Salle county, Illinois, in 1835, where he died from cholera in the same week as Gudmund Haugaas, in July, 1849, leaving four children. He was married to a daughter of Jahan Nordboe.

Andrew (Endre) Dahl settled in Kendall, N. Y. Came thence to La Salle county, Illinois, in 1834. There he married the widow of Sven Aasen. Endre Dahl is remembered as the cook on board the sloop. His sons went to Texas in an early day and became experts in capturing wild horses. In the fifties, Andrew Dahl himself went to Salt Lake City in Utah, where he died. I have recently learned that one of his sons is still living in Utah, and his grandson, A. S. Anderson, born in Utah, was recently a member of the Utah constitutional convention.

Of Nels Thompson, I have already given some account. He was a brother of Oyen Thompson and married the widow of the latter in Rochester, in 1827. He removed to La Salle county, Illinois, in 1834, and died there in July, 1863.

Andrew Stangeland bought land in Kendall in 1825, and immediately married an American

girl, by name Miss Susan Cary. It is said that he married her before he had learned to speak English. He afterwards sold his land to Ole H. Aasland and got in exchange for it a tract of land that Ole Aasland owned in Noble county, Ind. I am informed that Andrew Stangeland died in Indiana, but his son, Andrew J. Stangeland, is now living in Kendall, N. Y.

Lars Olson, the captain of the sloop, married Rachel, the daughter of Thomas Madland, and settled in New York probably as a sailor. I am informed that both he and his wife died in New York many years ago.

The mate, Mr. Erikson, some say went back to Bergen in Norway, while others claim that he, too, remained in New York.

I have saved the slooper, Ole Olson Hetletvedt, for the last because I have a long story to tell about one of his sons. He was born in the northern part of Stavanger Amt in Norway, where he had been a school teacher. He went first to Kendall and thence to Niagara Falls, where he found employment in a paper mill, and while living there he married an American lady by name Miss Chamberlain. Mrs. Inger Mitchell has informed me that she as a young girl lived about a year with Hetletvedt's family at Niagara Falls. After coming to this country

he dropped the name Hetletvedt and signed himself Ole Olson. Ole Olson Hetletvedt came west, and settled first in La Salle county and afterwards near Newark, in Kendall county, Illinois, where he died about the year 1849. He became widely known in the early days of our Norwegian settlements as a bible agent and as a most efficient lay preacher of the Haugian school. Of his gospel meetings I shall have occasion to speak in the latter part of this volume. Ole Olson's first wife died early and he married another American woman, a widow, but I have not been able to secure any further facts in regard to her. Two of Ole Olson's brothers came to America in 1836. One was Knud Olson Hetletvedt, who was born on the farm Hetletvedt in Stavanger Amt, April 21, 1793. He settled as a farmer in Mission, La Salle county, and lived there until he died in the cholera epidemic on August 12, 1849. He left five children Ole,* Soren,

*Since the above was written, I have had a letter from Ole Olson Hetletvedt, the nephew of the slooper. He informs me that he was born at Hetletvedt, Ombo, Stavanger Amt, April 23, 1824. As a twelve year old boy he emigrated to America with his parents and settled with them in Mission, La Salle county, Illinois, and lived there until 1865, when he

John, Sophia and Bertha. Ole and his two sisters live in Norway, Benton county, Iowa, the other two in Illinois. John is married to a daughter of Beach Fellows. The other

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moved to Norway, Benton county, Iowa where he now resides. His brother Soren was born December 30, 1835. He now resides in Livingston county Illinois. John was born March 12, 1839, in Mission and now resides in Ford county, Illinois. His sister Sophia was born in Norway, July 18, 1821, and his sister Bertha, December 30, 1832. There was an older brother John who was born April 8, 1830, and died September 5, 1836, at Rochester, N. Y., and then there was a sister Malinda, who was born May 12, 1827, and died on Lake Michigan, September 10, 1836. Ole Olson's wife, Bertha Olson, was born September 9, 1830, on the farm Valem, Aardal parish, Stavanger Amt. They were married December 25, 1857. Their children are Sarah Ann, born September 14, 1852 (married); Peter C. Olson, born April 21, 1854 (married); Sophia, born September 9, 1856; Edward, born May 14, 1859 (deceased); Charles P., born February 4, 1864 (deceased).

Ole Olson also informs me that his mother's name was Siri (Sigrid), and that she was born January 13, 1793, and died from cholera August 3, 1849. Mr. Olson also mentions Osmund Tuttle from Hjelmeland in Stavanger Amt as coming to America in 1836. This Osmund was born in 1797, and died in 1880. The slooper,

brother was Jacob Olson Hetletvedt. He went to the Sugar Creek settlement in Lee county, Iowa, where he died August 24, 1857. His widow married Sven Kjylaa, and with him she moved to the Fox River settlement. Her second husband died there recently, but she is said to be still living at a very advanced age.

Ole Olson the slooper had four children, three sons and one daughter. The three boys were Porter C., Soren L. and James Webster. All three enlisted in Co. F, 36th regiment, Illinois volunteers. Porter C. was the captain, but advanced to the colonelcy of the regiment, and was acting brigadier general when he was killed in the bloody battle of Franklin, Tenn.

Soren L. was sergeant, and had his head blown off by a shell at the battle of Murfreesboro, while James Webster came home again without a scar. He went to Minnesota where his sister Bertha was living. Porter was buried at Newark, Illinois, and a fine monument was erected on his grave.

Ole Olson Hetletvedt, had a third brother by name Lars. Lars Olson Hetletvedt started for America in 1830, but did not get further than Hamburg, not having money enough to get to New York. Twenty years later, in 1850, he emigrated and located in the Fox River settlement, where he died about a year ago.

I think it is not generally known that Ole Olson Hetletvedt's son, Porter C. Olson, distinguished himself in our late civil war, and I shall therefore now give some account of him.

Everybody knows of Col. Hans C. Heg, the gallant colonel of the 15th Wisconsin regiment of volunteers, but we never see Colonel Porter C. Olson mentioned in the Scandinavian press of this country. He was born in Manchester, near Niagara Falls, in 1831. As shown above, his father was a Norwegian by birth and his mother an American lady. The family removed to Newark, Kendall county, Illinois, when Porter was a lad. He improved the usual advantages to be derived from country schools until he was fitted for college, and he subsequently attended Beloit college in Wisconsin, from June, 1856, to June, 1858, but he did not graduate there.

At the breaking out of the Rebellion, he was teaching the public school at Lisbon, Illinois, but just as Col. Hans C. Heg left a lucrative state office in Wisconsin to serve his country in the war, so patriotism, duty and ambition called Porter C. Olson from the school-room to the camp. Through his efforts a company was recruited at Newark, made up largely of

the sons of Norwegians from that locality and from the town of Mission in La Salle county. Porter C. Olson was elected its captain, and his company, with full ranks, was among the first at camp Hammond, where the 36th regiment of Illinois volunteers was organized. This camp was on the west side of Fox river, half a mile above the village of Montgomery, and two miles from Aurora. The 36th regiment, known as the Fox river regiment, departed from camp Hammond for the seat of war September 24, 1861, and Porter C. Olson followed the fortunes of the regiment in its tedious marches and participated in all its fierce encounters down to the fatal field at Franklin, Tennessee. He was a modest and unassuming man and a thorough personal acquaintance was necessary to fully understand and appreciate the many excellencies of his character. The historian of the regiment, Major L. G. Bennett, testifies that "next after the lamented Miller none stood higher or had a warmer place in the affections of the men than Lieut. Col. Porter C. Olson." I find in the records of this regiment that Mr. Olson commanded the regiment with great bravery in the battle of Stone River in December, 1862, and January, 1863. When Gen. Sill was killed in this battle on December

31, 1862, Col. Greusel of the 36th Illinois, took command of the brigade, and as Major Miller of the 36th Illinois, was wounded, the command of the regiment devolved on Porter C. Olson. Of the movements of the regiment during those eventful days, Captain Olson made a full official report, and as this is the only document I have hitherto been able to find from the pen of this gallant soldier, I offer no apology for reproducing it here as a monument to his memory. It gives us a most charming glimpse of him as a soldier, man and writer, and eminently deserves to be preserved among the records of our early Norwegian settlers. Hitherto his memory has been neglected by his countrymen in America, but it shall henceforth live forever, and linked with that of the lamented Col. Hans C. Heg, it shall be handed down from generation to generation as long as descendants of the Norwegians shall be found among the citizens of the United States. I give Captain Olson's report here as one of the most precious historical documents that I have found for my readers of this volume:

"Headquarters 36th Ill. Vols.,
"Jan. 9, 1863.

"The 36th Illinois regiment, Col. N. Greusel commanding, was called into line at four o'clock on Tuesday morning, December 30th, 1862, and

stood under arms until daylight, to the left of the Wilkinson pike, our right resting upon it, five miles from Murfreesboro. At nine o'clock a. m. we moved forward to Murfreesboro. Two companies were deployed as skirmishers to the right of the road and were soon engaged with the enemy's skirmishers. When two miles from Murfreesboro, the regiment was deployed in a corn-field to the right of the pike and two companies were sent forward as skirmishers, as ordered by Gen. Sill. The regiment lay in line in this field until 2 o'clock p. m. at which time the whole line was ordered to advance. The skirmishers kept up a sharp fire — the enemy's line retreating and ours advancing. We drove the enemy through the timber and across the cotton field, a low, narrow strip stretching to the right into the timber. A rebel battery, directly in front of the 36th, opened a heavy fire upon us. Our skirmishers advanced to the foot of the hill near the cotton-field and here kept up a well directed fire. We were ordered to support Capt. Bush's batttery, which was brought into position in the point of timber where our right rested, and opened fire with terrible effect upon the enemy. We remained as a support until nearly dark, when Capt. Bush went to the rear, the enemy's battery, or rather its disabled fragments, having been dragged from the field. In this day's engagement, the regiment lost three killed and fifteen wounded; total eighteen. We occupied the hill during the night, and our skirmishers were in line at the edge of the cotton-field.

"On the morning of December 31st, soon after

daylight, the enemy advanced in strong force from the timber beyond the cotton-field opposite our right. They came diagonally across the field and upon reaching the foot of the hill made a left half wheel, coming up directly in front of us. When the enemy had advanced up the hill sufficiently to be in sight, Col. (N) Greusel ordered the regiment to fire, which was promptly obeyed. We engaged the enemy at short range, the lines being not over ten rods apart. After a few rounds, the regiment supporting us on the right gave way. In this manner we fought for nearly half an hour, when Col. Greusel ordered the regiment to charge. The enemy fled in great confusion across the cotton-field into the woods opposite our left, leaving many of their dead and wounded upon the field. We poured a destructive fire upon them as they retreated until they were beyond range.

"The 36th again took position upon the hill and the support for our right came forward. At this time Gen. Sill was killed and Col Greusel took command of the brigade. A fresh brigade of the enemy advanced from the direction that the first had come and in splendid order. We opened fire on them with terrific effect. Again the regiment on our right gave way and we were again left without support. In this condition we fought until our ammunition was exhausted and the enemy had entirely flanked us on our right. At this juncture Major (Silas) Miller ordered the regiment to fall back. While retreating, Major Miller was wounded and the command devolved on me. We moved

back of the corn-field to the edge of the timber a hundred rods to the right of the Wilkinson pike and two miles from Murfreesboro, at eight o'clock a. m. Here I met Gen. Sheridan and reported to him that the regiment was out of ammunition and that I would be ready for action as soon as I could obtain it. We had suffered severely in resisting the attack of superior numbers. I had now only one hundred and forty men. The regiment fought with great obstinacy and much is due to Col. N. Greusel for his bravery in conducting the regiment before being called away. Adjutant Biddulph went to find the ammunition, but did not succeed. I then informed Quartermaster Bouton, that I needed cartridges, but he failed to find any except size fifty-eight, the calibre of most of the arms being sixty-nine. I was ordered by Major General McCook to fall back to the rear of Gen. Crittenden's corps. I arrived there about ten o'clock a. m. I here obtained ammunition, and dispatched the adjutant to report to Col. Greusel the condition and whereabouts of the regiment. He returned without seeing the Colonel. Lieut. Watkins soon rode up and volunteered to take a message to Col. Greusel, or Gen. Sheridan. He also returned without finding either officer. I now went in search of Gen. Sheridan myself; found him at 12 o'clock, and reported to him the regiment (what there was left of it) ready to move to the front. He ordered that I should hold the regiment in readiness and await his commands.

"At 2 o'clock p. m. I received orders from Gen. Sheridan to advance to the front to the

left of the railroad and connect my command temporarily with Col. Leibold's brigade. We were here subject to a very severe artillery fire. A twelve-pound shell struck in the right of the regiment and killed Lieut. Soren L. Olson* (a brave and faithful officer, commanding company F), Corporal Riggs, and wounding three others. At dark we were moved by Lieut. Denning one quarter of a mile to the rear, where we remained for the night. At three o'clock in the morning of the first of January, 1863, by order of Gen. Sheridan, we marched to his head quarters on the Nashville pike, a distance of half a mile, where at daylight I reported to Col. Greusel. As ordered by him we took position to the right of Capt. Bush's battery, fronting west. We built a barricade of logs and stone and remained through the day ready to receive the enemy, but no attack was made. On the morning of the second, the regiment was in line at four o'clock; stood under arms until daylight. We remained ready for action through the day until four o'clock p. m., when, by order of Col. Greusel, we moved to the right on the line formerly occupied by Gen. Davis. During the night considerable skirmishing occurred on our front. On the morning of the 3rd instant the regiment stood under arms from four o'clock until daylight. At eight o'clock a. m., by order of Col. Greusel, we changed position to the right and somewhat to the rear, letting our right rest upon the Nashville pike. On the morning of the fourth we were under arms at four o'clock.

*Col. Porter C. Olson's brother.

No fighting occurred on our part of the line during the day. In the action throughout, the regiment behaved in the most gallant manner. The officers, with only a single exception, distinguished themselves for bravery and coolness. The men with unflinching courage were always ready, and met the enemy with a determination to conquer. I tender my thanks to Adjutant (George G.) Biddulph for the gallant and efficient manner in which he assisted me, and also to the other officers for their gallant action throughout the strong conflict, which resulted in victory. I append to this report a list of casualties.

"(Signed) PORTER C. OLSON,
"*Captain, Commanding 36th Illinois Vols.*"

Of the engagement thus described by Porter C. Olson, Gen. Rosecrans says: "The firing was terrific, and the havoc terrible. The enemy retreated more rapidly than they had advanced. In forty minutes they lost two thousand men." In his report of this bloody battle, Gen. P. H. Sheridan says: "I refer with pride to the splendid conduct, bravery and efficiency of the following regimental commanders, and the officers and men of their respective commands: Major Silas Miller, 36th Ill., wounded and a prisoner; Capt. P. C. Olson, 36th Ill." The 36th Illinois suffered more than any other regiment in this battle, the list of the dead and wounded filling two closely-printed pages in Bennett's History.

Although Col. Heg and Col. Olson probably were strangers to each other, it is interesting to note the fact, that Colonel Hans C. Heg also was present and took an important part in the battle of Stone River, attracting the attention and admiration of his superiors for his great bravery and efficiency. Col. Heg and Col. Olson, both sons of pioneer immigrants from Norway, fought together in the battle of Stone River and on several other bloody battle-fields. They were both destined to meet death in later engagements for the life of our dear republic, but their fame shall henceforth go linked together down to the latest generations of the descendants of Norwegians in America.

On the 9th of February, 1863, Col. N. Greusel felt constrained from the state of his health to tender his resignation, which was accepted. Captain Jenks, of Company A, Cavalry, was promoted to take his place. "He was a man of excellent abilities, of fine taste and culture, a man whom to know was to esteem," says Mr. Bennett, "but unfortunately he found himself in a position equally unpleasant for himself and the regiment. It was felt that the two companies of cavalry attached to the 36th Illinois, being so distinct in organization and service, ought not to be reckoned in the line of promo-

tion, but that the regimental officers should be taken from the regiment itself. This feeling was so intense that neither kindness nor discipline could overcome it. At one time it seemed so high that it almost threatened mutiny, when Col. Jenks wisely resigned and returned to his profession, in which he proved himself so successful." The result was that Capt. Porter C. Olson again took command of the regiment.

On the 11th of May, 1863, Olson was regularly appointed lieutenant colonel, and took command of the regiment for Silas Miller, who had received a commission as colonel, but was still a prisoner at Libby and did not return till May 22. The promotion of Olson to the lieutenant colonelcy "was," says Mr. Bennett, "highly honorable to that worthy officer, whose fidelity and courage, tested both in camp and field, had won the confidence of the regiment. The appointment, too, will never cease to be equally honorable to Major George D. Sherman, who, though himself the ranking officer and entitled to the position, recommended Capt. Olson." This was an instance of self-abnegation as honorable as it is rare, and speaks volumes both for Mr. Olson and Mr. Sherman.

It does not concern Col. Olson, but it interested me immensely to find that in 1863 the 36th

Illinois resolved to carry a library of books with them for the social happiness and mental and moral improvement of the soldiers, and that my publishers, Messrs. S. C. Griggs & Co., of Chicago, sold them the books and presented the regiment with a copy of Webster's Unabridged.

The 36th Illinois suffered terribly in the battle of Chickamauga, where our gallant Col. Hans E. Heg was shot on the 19th of September and died the following day, September 20. Here is a glimpse of Col. Olson on the day that Col. Heg died. I take it from Bennett's History: "In the meantime the fiery conflict grew more desperate and deadly. Col. Miller, on whom the command of the brigade devolved, gallant as ever; Lieut. Col. Olson, brave to a fault, and Major Sherman, true and unflinching, were everywhere conspicuous, encouraging the men by their example to wring from unwilling hands of fate the victory which was denied."

At the battle of Mission Ridge Col. Olson again commanded the regiment and led it into the thickest of the fight.

On February 2, 1864, the regiment returned to Chicago and a few days later to Aurora, where it was reorganized and started for the south again on the 19th of March, with Miller

as colonel and Porter C. Olson as lieutenant colonel.

As evidence of Olson's popularity it may be mentioned that the ground on which they camped near Cowan, Tenn., was called Camp Olson. From June until the 24th of August Olson was absent from the regiment on account of sickness, but upon the death of Col. Silas Miller, he returned and resumed command. On the 23d of September, 1864, the anniversary of the mustering in of the regiment, one hundred and twenty-seven men and one officer, whose three years had expired, were mustered out and took leave of their comrades. Being drawn up in line, they were addressed in a speech by Col. Olson, who "reviewed their connection with the regiment, honored their fidelity, and exhorted them to be true to the country, as citizens at home, while their comrades continued to bear the hardships of camp and field."

On the 30th of November occurred the bloody fight and slaughter at Franklin, Tenn. For his successful resistance and victory in this battle, Gen. Scofield was in a large measure indebted to the cool courage of Col. Olson and the gallant 36th in checking and delaying the march of Hood's army until the works at Franklin were strengthened. It was a delicate and dan-

gerous duty to clear the pike and hold it open to enable the troops from Columbia to pass without interruption, and Col. Olson with his regiment was selected to do this.

In the battle of Franklin, Col. Olson was everywhere among his men with words of cheer and encouragement, and utterly regardless of his own life and safety. Shortly after reaching the works he was struck by a musket ball, which entered his breast and passed through his body in the region of the heart. He fell instantly, but in falling he requested Lieut. Hall of Company E to take him to the rear. Assisted by Sergeant Yarnell of Company G, they carried him to the shelter of a brick-house standing near the works, when, perceiving that he was failing fast, the lieutenant called to Capt. Biddulph to attend to the regiment as the colonel's wound was mortal. Yarnell wrenched a window shutter from the house, on which the bleeding body of their commander was placed and hurriedly borne to the rear, while musket balls and cannon shot were striking around them in fearful quantities.

Reaching the river, they were none too soon to secure the last vacant place in an ambulance in which he was tenderly placed by the side of the wounded color-bearer, Mr. Zimmer. Then

taking a last look at their dying chief, they hurried back to the trenches, resumed their position in the line and fought bravely to the end. The colonel's life ebbed rapidly away and in a half unconscious state the pious, god-fearing soldier feebly whispered, "Oh, help me, Lord!" These were his last words and his heart was still. His noble spirit had taken its flight to that country where wars and battles are unknown. L. G. Bennett, in whose work this account of Col. Porter C. Olson is found, closes the chapter on Col. Olson's death with these eloquent and striking words: "When brave Olson fell, a cold tremor thrilled along the line. At any other time than in the face of the enemy and under a murderous fire, the men would have sat down and cried like children over his untimely fate. Brave, generous, earnest and faithful, none had stood more honestly by the men or been more true to the country than he. Always present in the perils and hardships of the 36th, he had shared them all and won his way into the hearts and affections of the men, making a record of glory that will never be closed up or forgotten, though his mangled remains may moulder and lay hidden from sight in an unknown and unmarked grave. The name of *Porter C. Olson* will live forever, and

be handed down along the imperishable ages, indissolubly linked with the fame of the immortal *Thirty-Sixth.*"

I am happy to be able to embellish this volume with a portrait of Col. Olson. It shows a peculiarly mild, intelligent and thoughtful face. This grand life and Col. Olson's splendid services resulted from the immigration of his father, Ole Olson, in 1825, and many a descendant of Norwegian immigrants appreciates the force and significance of this remark.

Six of this memorable Restauration party are still (spring, 1895) living, viz.:

1. Mrs. Sara T. Richey, a daughter of Oyen Thompson. She was born March 9, 1818, fourteen miles south of Stavanger, Norway, and now resides at Guthrie Center, Iowa.

2. Mrs. Inger Mitchell. She was born in Tysver Parish, Norway, December 11, 1819, and now resides at Ottawa, Ill.

3. Mrs. Martha Fellows. She was born in Tysver Parish, Norway, September 27, 1823, and now resides at Ottawa, Ill. Mrs. Mitchell and Mrs. Fellows are sisters, and daughters of Cornelius Nelson Hersdal. They are nieces of Kleng Peerson, who was a brother of their mother.

4. Mrs. Margaret Allen Atwater, a daugh-

ter of Lars Larson. She was born on board the sloop September 2, 1825, and now resides at Western Springs, Cook county, Ill.

These four became the wives of American husbands, and as a consequence now bear old English names.

5. Mrs. Hulda Olson, born in Tysver Parish, February 20, 1825, a daughter of Daniel Stenson Rossadal. She married a Norwegian by name Rasmus Olson, who, as seen above, died in Sheridan, Illinois, in 1893. Mrs. Olson still resides in Sheridan.

6. Mrs. Jacob Anderson (Slogvig), Serena, born in 1814, a daughter of Thomas Madland. She with her husband removed to California and became wealthy. Mr. Anderson died in 1864, but Serena is still living in San Diego, California. I received a letter from her, dated February 17, 1895. Mrs. Olson and Mrs. Anderson still bear Norwegian names.

My readers will be pleased to find portraits of all these survivors. It will be seen that they are all women and it is hardly necessary to add that they very reluctantly gave me their portraits for publication in this volume.

The last couple to survive of those who embarked in the sloop on July 4, 1825, were Nels Nelson Hersdal and his wife Bertha. Mrs. Nel-

son died in 1882 and Mr. Nelson in 1886, a little over 86 years old. The last male survivor was Nels Nelson, Jr., a son of Cornelius Nelson and nephew of Kleng Peerson. He was born in Tysver Parish, Norway, June 29, 1816, and died at Sheridan, Ill., August 29, 1893. His wife, Catherine Evenson, is still living in Sheridan, Ill. Her father, Knut Evenson, came to America in 1831 in the same vessel with Gjert Hovland, who was mentioned above (see p. 81). He settled in Kendall, N. Y., and both he and his wife died there. Catherine came with friends to La Salle county, Ill., in 1839. Nels Nelson was usually styled Jr., to distinguish him from Nels Nelson Hersdal, who was called Nels Nelson, Sr. Nels Nelson, Jr., and his wife Catherine had ten children, four of whom are now living, three daughters and a son. The son, whose name is Cornelius, lives on the farm in Mission township, La Salle county, Ill., purchased for his grandmother, Carrie (Kari) Nelson, the widow of Cornelius Nelson, by Kleng Peerson, before she moved to Illinois in 1836. On this farm, which is the west half of the southwest quarter of section thirty-three, township thirty-five, range 5 E., 3 P. M., she built a log house shortly after her arrival and made her home there until

she died, July 24, 1848. As heretofore stated, my parents lived in this house with Mrs. Nelson for several months after their arrival in Illinois in 1837. This farm became the property of her son, Nels Nelson, Jr., the last male survivor of the sloop party, and now his son, Cornelius, has it. The original log house still stands, but has been sided over and a larger frame building has been added to it; but it still serves as a home for a grandchild of a slooper. I speak thus fully of this farm, because it is beyond all doubt the first farm selected by a Norwegian in America west of the Great Lakes, and it would not be out of place to commemorate the event by a small monument in honor of Mrs. Carrie Nelson's brother, Kleng Peerson, of Hesthammer, Tysver Parish, Skjold District, Stavanger county, Norway. Perhaps it was on this land he lay down and rested and had his memorable dream of which I shall give an account later on. At all events this is the first piece of land selected by a Norwegian in the great Northwest.

It gives me pleasure to be able to give portraits of Lars Larson and his wife, Martha Georgiana; of Nels Nelson Hersdal and his wife Bertha, and of Nels Nelson, Jr., and his wife Catherine, whom he married May 8, 1842.

The portrait of Lars Larson is from a daguerreotype taken after death and now in the possession of the daughter, Mrs. Atwater. It is the only portrait in existence of this leader of the sloop party.

I have dwelt long on the sloop party and feel that I may have exhausted the patience of my readers, but I find the sloop so important from every point of view, that I have left no stone unturned in gathering the facts in regard to its passengers, and I could not refrain from incorporating in this work a condensed statement of all the information in my possession. In regard to the fifty-three passengers I have given all the important facts that I have been able to glean, but in regard to their descendants I am in possession of much that I could not use without swelling this volume into undue proportions. Meanwhile we may now consider the sloop party disposed of and go back again and take up the thread of our narrative, where we dropped it with the foundation of the first Norwegian settlement in America in this century in the town of Kendall, Orleans county, New York, in 1825--1836.

VI.

From 1825 to 1836.

From 1825 to 1836 there was but little immigration from Norway. Before 1836 there were no vessels carrying emigrants from Norway to America. Those Norwegians who did emigrate came either by way of Gothenborg, Sweden, or Hamburg or Havre, in all of which cities passengers to America could be accommodated.

The Gothenborg vessels carried Swedish iron to America, but emigrants frequently had to wait for weeks before they found a ship bound for New York. From Hamburg regular packet ships carried German immigrants, but these were so numerous that there was frequently a delay of from two to three weeks, before they could be accommodated. In Havre the emigrant packets were also regular, but there were not so many emigrants and the Norwegians could count on getting a passage on the first ship leaving the port. This made Havre the most popular point of departure from Europe for the Norwegians.

The most of these Norwegian immigrants

joined the colony at Kendall, N. Y. In my travels and correspondence I have been able to trace a considerable number of these and their descendants, and I shall now proceed to mention a few more or less conspicuous examples.

Christian Olson came from Norway in 1829 and settled in Kendall, N. Y. After living there eight years he moved to La Salle county, Ill., in 1837, and died there in 1858. He was married three times and left one son by his second wife, Rasmus Olson, who married Hulda, the daughter of Daniel Stenson Rossadal, and died in 1893 at the age of seventy-two, having been eight years old when he came to America. His widow, Hulda Olson, who came in the sloop, is still living, as shown above.

Gudman Sandsberg, whose name until he emigrated was Gudmund Osmundson Fister, was born in the Parish of Hjelmeland, Stavanger Amt, Norway, in the year 1787. He emigrated with his family to America in 1829 and first settled in Kendall, N. Y. I have seen the testimonial from his pastor in Norway, and the following is a translation of it:

"Gudmund Osmundson Fister, 42 years old, and his wife, Mari Pedersdatter, 33 years old, took communion the last time in Fister church

the 17th Sunday after Trinity, 1827. They have three children, Bertha, baptized December 26, 1820, Anna, baptized January 5, 1826, and Torbor, baptized November 18, 1827. This couple, whose conduct here so far as known to me has been christianlike, now intend to emigrate with their children to America in the hope of there getting better conditions than in the fatherland. God the Almighty conduct them on their journey through time and eternity!

"Hjelmeland Parsonage, June 9, 1829.

"(Signed) Hjorthöi."

Mr. Sandsberg was a loyal Lutheran and as is clear from this testimonial he did not leave Norway to escape from religious intolerance or persecution, but solely to better his condition. I have also examined Sandsberg's passport, which states that he was born in the Parish of Hjelmeland, that he was "sixty-one inches tall, had brown eyes, a ruddy face, brown hair and broad shoulders." This passport is written at Sandsgaard in Ryfylke, June 10, 1829. It was shown in Stavanger July 8, 1829, again at Ny Elfsborg in Sweden July 12, 1829, again at Gothenborg July 14, 1829, and finally at Ny Elfsborg July 18, 1829. This is evidence that he came by way of Gothenborg. In 1836 Sandsberg came to Illinois and made his home in Mis-

sion, La Salle county, where he died March 14, 1840. His occupation both in Norway and in America was that of a farmer. He was well educated in Norwegian and could also read and write English. The signature on his passport shows the handwriting of a man well trained in the art of writing.

Gudmund Sandsberg lived at Fister before he came to America, and until that time he signed himself Gudmund Osmundson Fister. His father lived at Sandsberg and when Gudmund came to America he assumed that name.

When Knud Slogvig went to Norway in 1835, he carried with him a letter from Gudmund Sandsberg to his friend Andreas Sandsberg at Hellen, in Norway. Andreas answered on the 14th of May, 1836, and this letter from Andreas to Gudmund is with other documents still preserved by the family. The family letters were loaned to me, and from the above epistle I made the following interesting extract: "A considerable number of people are now getting ready to go to America from this Amt (that is, Stavanger Amt). Two brigs are to depart from Stavanger in about eight days from now, and will carry these people to America, and if good reports come from them, the number of emigrants will doubtless be still larger next year.

A pressing and general lack of money entering into every branch of industry, stops or at least hampers business and makes it difficult for many people to earn the necessaries of life. While this is the case on this side of the Atlantic there is hope of abundance on the other, and this, I take it, is the chief cause of this growing disposition to emigrate. I am very anxious to get a letter from you, in which I beg you to inform me about your own circumstances and about the condition of the country in general."

This letter is valuable in as much as it throws light on Knud Slogvig's return to Norway. It fixes the year of that visit as 1835. It also helps us in regard to the date of the departure of the Köhler brigs from Stavanger in the summer of 1836. We are also glad to get so full a statement from a person who was in the midst of it, in regard to the cause of the emigration. While religious persecution drove the sloop people to America, and while dissatisfaction with the social and political conditions in Norway caused many to renounce the land of their fathers, still we must not forget that a hope of securing better opportunities than the parent soil could offer, was a most potent cause of emigration.

I have seen a letter written by Andreas Sandsberg to Gudmund Sandsberg, dated at Hellen, September 12, 1831, in which the writer also describes the hard times in Norway, and mentions the enormous prices of rye and barley. He tells about the war between Russia and Poland and about the terrible cholera epidemic, then raging throughout Europe, and he ascribes the hard times to these causes. Under date of May 14, 1836, Osmund Anderson Sandsberg writes to Gudmund to inquire about Anders Enochson Quædland, who left Norway about the year 1806 as a sailor, and presumably went to America. A letter had been received from him, written in America in 1825. There was money for Enochson in Norway, and Osmund requests Gudmund to look him up and so find out what was to be done with the money.

Gudmund Sandsberg's daughter married a Mr. Mitchell. She still lives in Ottawa, Ill., and her son, M. B. Mitchell, is a wholesale dealer in cigars in that city. The letters, testimonial and passport to which I have referred belong to Mrs. Mitchell, and were kindly loaned me by her son, M. B. Mitchell. On examining these documents I could not help thinking what a help it would be to the historian if people would take better care of their old letters and

other written and printed documents. Those who have no place to take care of them should present them to some historical society, where they might be preserved for reference.

According to the best information I have been able to obtain, Johan Nordboe came to Kendall, N. Y., in 1832. He was from the eastern part of Norway, and took his name from Nordboe in Ringebo in Gudbrandsdal. His wife was from Œsterdalen. Nordboe spent three years in Kendall, but did not seem to get on well with his countrymen there, who were all from the western part of Norway, and the Stavangerings, including Kleng Peerson, did not seem willing to give the man from Gudbrandsdal a fair chance. To Ole Canuteson, now of Waco, Texas, he made the statement that he could not get in Kendall the nice farm that he wanted, and that Kleng Peerson insisted on his taking an inferior one, which he did not accept. Johan Nordboe and Kleng Peerson were not therefore the best of friends for a time, but in their later years they seem to have become nearly, if not entirely, reconciled and their relations in Texas were friendly. In Norway Johan Nordboe had been an itinerant physician and he also practiced the healing art after he came to this country. I learn of his vaccinat-

ing children both in Kendall and in the Fox River settlement. Mrs. Norboe was a midwife.

In 1836 he moved to Illinois, but did not seem to like it there any better than in Kendall, and so we find him removing first to Missouri in 1837 (Shelby county), and then to Texas in 1838. So far as I have been able to learn he was the first Norwegian who ever went to Texas. He had no desire to found a Norwegian settlement. On the contrary, his aim seemed to be to get away from his countrymen. He settled in Dallas county, Texas, where for himself and family he got a bonus of 1,920 acres of land.

He was living in Dallas county when the Reiersons and Wærenskjolds came to Texas in 1845 In the early fifties he visited the Wærenskjolds at Four Mile Prairie. In a letter to me the late Mrs. Elise Wærenskjold describes him as a student of history and science. She say he was skillful in drawing and had talents for sculpture. When she saw him, he was a small, feeble man about eighty years old. Although he did not like to live in a Norwegian settlement, he felt a deep interest in his countrymen, and when he learned that the Reiersons and Wærenskjolds were living at Four Mile Prairie, old and feeble as he was, he could not help making

them a visit. He was unable to ride horseback, and his sons who did not share their father's desire to meet countrymen, being unwilling to take him with team and wagon, the old man trudged on foot the long way from Dallas to Four Mile Prairie and arrived there a little before Christmas, 1851. He spent the Yule holidays there, and after Chirstmas Kleng Peerson came to accompany him to his home. This proves that he and Kleng had become good friends again. Nordboe was not entirely pleased with this part of the program, as it was difficult for the man from Gudbrandsdal to keep pace with the old Stavangering. Mrs. Wærenskjold adds to this incident that Johan Nordboe seemed to her a "very kind man." When Nordboe came to Texas in 1838, he had three sons, and he left a married daughter in the Fox River settlement, the wife of the slooper, George Johnson. From Dallas county he afterwards moved to Tarrant county, where he died some time in the sixties, but I have no dates. His widow and sons went to California, but I have not been able to trace them and find out their address. The two oldest sons, Peter and John, were married to American women. Through P. C. Nelson, now of Larned, Kansas, I learned that John Nordboe vaccinated some of the children of Cornelius Nelson Hersdal in

Kendall, and the rest of them in the Fox River settlement, and thus I was able to get at the years of his coming to America, of his coming to Illinois and of his departure for Texas.

Knut Evenson and family came from Norway in 1831 and settled in Kendall, N. Y., where he and his wife died. Their daughter Catherine went with friends to La Salle county, Ill., in 1839, where she afterwards married Nels Nelson, Jr., the last male survivor of the sloop, and she still lives in Sheridan, Ill.

Gjert Hovland, who has been mentioned already and who will be mentioned again, came to New York in the same ship with Knut Evenson in 1831, lived four years in Kendall, N. Y., then removed to La Salle county, Ill., where he died in 1870.

There is a remarkable record of a man by name Ingebret Larson Narvig, who came from Tysver, Stavanger Amt, in the year 1831. He was a Quaker and clung to his Quaker faith to his dying day. He arrived alone in Boston and then footed it from there to the Norwegian settlement in Kendall, N. Y. He remained there two years and then joined Kleng Peerson on his journey to Illinois in 1833. It is said that there was a third Norwegian in this company, but I have not been able to get any fur-

ther trace of this third party. On the way Ingebret Larson Narvig left Kleng at Erie, Monroe county, Mich., and went to work for a farmer six miles north of that place. Here he married an American woman and remained there about twenty-three years. His wife died and he married her sister, and moved to Wisconsin, settling in Green Lake county, where he resided until 1885, when he moved to Tyler, Minnesota, where he died January 21, 1892. Mr. Jer. F. Fries, banker in Toronto, South Dakota, met him shortly before his death, and informs me that old Ingebret had forgotten his mother tongue, but spoke English with a Norwegian accent. He was still a Quaker, and had his old Norwegian Bible, which he was still able to read. He was a born adventurer, but his religious views caused him to lead a quiet, unpretentious life. A daughter of his, Mrs. Carrena Vine, living at Porter, Minnesota, and Gilbert J. Larson, of Tyler, Minnesota, is a son of our Ingebret. While a farmer by occupation, he devoted much time to the study of medicine. He had twelve children, five of whom are living. A friend of this interesting immigrant writes to me of him: "A most modest, pleasant and gentle old man was he. It is a pleasure to me to have known him." Ingebret Larson

Narvig is to be remembered as the first Norwegian to settle in the state of Michigan.

Early in the year 1895, I received a letter from Mrs. Carrena Vine, a daughter of Ingebret Larson Narvig, and from it I take the liberty of making the following extract:

"I will try to give you a short sketch of father's life as told by him to me at different times.

"He was born near Stavanger, Norway, January 8, 1808. His father owned the farm he lived on and was by occupation a farmer on a small scale, keeping at the same time a number of cattle, sheep and goats. My father's youth was spent taking care of the sheep and goats on the rocky hills of grandfather's farm, and at the same time he studied the religious books, catechism, etc., of the Lutheran church. In that church he was confirmed as a small boy.

"But his heart was not with the faith of his fathers, and he became a member of the Quaker society in 1826, when he was only eighteen years old. He loved and revered the faith and teachings of the Friends throughout his long life. He served as a sailor for a short time, but his companions were so rough and profane that he left the sea after one voyage. In 1831 he

came to America and settled in Michigan in 1833.

"In 1840, while living in Michigan on his farm, three miles from Adrian in Lewaunee county, he married Miss Lydia E. Smith, the daughter of William Smith, of Farmington, N. Y. Two children were born to them: Even D. and Gilbert B. These two children, he often said to me, were as dear to him as the apple of his eye.

"Lydia died in 1844. Her death came to him like a cloud in a clear sky and was the first great sorrow of his life. In 1847 he married Chloe A., the sister of Lydia and my mother.

"In 1856 he moved to Wisconsin, and bought a farm in Green Lake county, three miles from the village of Marquette. There he lived and did quite well as a farmer. His son Even died at the age of twenty-one, and once more his heart was filled with deepest grief.

"In 1876 my mother passed away and then his home was broken up.

"After many discouraging experiences with renters, he sold the farm and came to Minnesota in 1885 and made his home with Gilbert and myself, living with us alternately. He passed to the great beyond January 21, 1892, at

the age of eighty-four, at the home of his son Gilbert, and was buried January 23, in the cemetery near the village of Tyler, Minn., far from the land of his birth, and far away from the graves of his mother, wives and child."

From later correspondence with Ingebret Larson Narvig's family I learn that two of his daughters started for California on horseback. Their names were Emma and Ida, aged respectively twenty-four and fifteen. Ida was forbidden to go, but she left clandestinely. This occurred in 1883. Ida eventually gave up the ride and went through by rail. Emma rode a bay mare with a yearling colt running at her side. She was very fond of horses and this mare, named Kit, was given to her by her father. The horse was greatly attached to her fair rider. Emma carried a blanket and rested at night on the ground with the horse tethered at her side. She crossed the plains and of course suffered somewhat for lack of water, but reached San Francisco in saftey, though very much browned and weather-beaten. Ida met her there and they went together to the house of Ingebret Larson's brother, Elisha, who lived near Oakland. There they remained a year. They then rode their horses most of the way

back to Minnesota. These two girls later made a journey to New Mexico in a wagon. Such expeditions certainly show that these girls had inherited some of the old Viking spirit and energy.

When Ingebret Larson left Michigan in a wagon he had six children, but the three youngest died in Kenosha, Wis. In Marquette, Green Lake county, Wis., he went to the home of his bachelor brother, Elias, and lived there more than a year before moving onto a farm that he had bought near his brother's. Elias died at Ingebret's home many years ago. Elisha was in Oregon when last heard from.

VII.

The Exodus of 1836.

Of course a lot of letters were written by the Norwegians in America to relatives and friends in Norway, and these were read by hundreds who were anxious to better their fortunes. I have already mentioned Gjert Hovland and Gudmund Sandsberg as letter-writers, and we have had a glimpse of the character of their correspondence. Of Gjert Hovland we know

that his letters to Norway were transcribed in hundreds of copies and sent from house to house and from parish to parish throughout southern Norway. Many of the early immigrants have stated to me and to others that they were induced to emigrate by reading copies of Gjert Hovland's letters, and we can conceive that similar results would follow from reading letters written by the intelligent Gudmund Sandsberg, by Lars Larson and by many others of the sloop people.

Finally one of the sloop passengers, Knud Anderson Slogvig, returned to Norway in 1835, and the news that he had arrived at his old home in the Skjold District spread far and wide and created the greatest excitement. It made him the hero of the day. People traveled hundreds of miles to see and talk with him. The letters from Gjert Gregoriuson Hovland and others had been read with the deepest interest, but here was a man who had spent ten years in the New World. Through Knud Slogvig the America fever spread beyond the limits of Stavanger Amt and Christiansand Stift. We find people in the south part of Bergen Stift discussing emigration to America. In the winter of 1835 and 1836, we find that three men, relatives of the well-known Knud Langland,

went from Samnanger in Bergens Stift to Skjold, to visit and interview Knud Slogvig. This led to the great exodus of 1836, when the two Köhler brigs, "Norden," and "Den Norske Klippe" were fitted out for emigrants in Stavanger and left that summer, loaded with about two hundred passengers for New York. The America fever continued, calling for two ships, in 1837, "Ægir" from Bergen, and "Enigheden" from Egersund. "Enigheden" came from Egersund, but actually sailed from Stavanger. Then there was a partial lull until after 1840, when the America fever set in for good and it has continued to rage ever since, culminating as already stated in 1882.

The immediate cause and actual leader of the exodus in 1836 was Knud Slogvig. His return to Norway was an important event in the history of Norwegian emigration, and as he was going back the next year, he naturally became the promotor and leader. I believe his chief purpose in returning to Norway was to get a wife, for he married a sister of Ole Olson Hetletvedt and the great interest he awakened in America was doubtless accidental. After his return to America he made a visit to Missouri with Kleng Peerson in 1837, but aside from that he lived a quiet and unassuming life as a

farmer, first in La Salle county and afterwards in Lee county, where he and his wife died.

I have myself known personally many of those who came in "Norden" and "Den Norske Klippe" in 1836, and have learned of others, through their friends and acquaintances. It would require too much space to give an account of all of them, even if this were possible, but I will mention some of them.

Amund Anderson Hornefjeld was born on the farm Hornefjeld on the island of Moster, near Stavanger, February 16, 1806. He emigrated with the party led by Knud Slogvig, in 1836, and went directly to La Salle county, Illinois. In 1840 he came to Wisconsin, and after purchasing his land in Albion, Dane county, Wisconsin, he went back to La Salle county, Illinois, and there he married Mrs. Ingeborg Johnson, the widow of Erik Johnson Sævig, who came to America in 1836, and died in the Fox river settlement in 1840. Mr. Johnson was from Kvinhered Parish, in Norway, and was born in 1803. He left two children, John, now in Wyoming, and Anna Bertha (Betsy Ann), who is the wife of John J. Naset, in Christiana, Dane county, Wisconsin. In 1841, Amund Anderson moved with his wife and two step-children to Albion, where he be-

came a prosperous farmer and died ripe in years, March 18, 1886. His wife was born November 22, 1809, and died November 7, 1884. They left several children, one of whom, Soren Anderson, owns the original homestead, where Rev. Dietrichson preached his first sermon on Koshkonong in the fall of 1844. Amund and Ingeborg's portraits are given.

Andrew Anderson Aasen, from Tysver Parish, Skjold district, Stavanger Amt, came in 1836, and remained two years in Kendall, N. Y., with his brother-in-law, Nels Nelson Hersdal, and came to La Salle county, Illinois, in 1838, where he died from cholera in 1849. His widow, Olena, a sister of Nels Nelson Hersdal, died in the Fox river settlement in 1875. One son of his, Einar (Ener) Anderson came with his parents, two sisters and two brothers, to Kendall, N. Y., and thence to La Salle county, Illinois, and is still living on his farm in the town of Miller. I visited him in 1893, and found that he came in the same ship with my parents. Although now 77 years old he is still hale and hearty. His portrait will be found in this volume.

Osmund Thomason came in 1836, settled in La Salle county, and died there in 1876, 92 years old. His daughter Ann, who was born July 4,

1834, married Christopher Danielson, one of my best correspondents in La Salle county, and now resides in Sheridan, Illinois.

Ole T. Olson settled in La Salle county, Illinois. His widow lived until 1877, when she died, over 90 years old. Their son, Nels Olson, lives on the old homestead in the town of Adams.

Knud Olson Hetletvedt came from Norway, with his wife Serina, in 1836. He was a brother of Ole Olson Hetletvedt, who came to America in the sloop, and of whom I have already given some account. Both Knud and his wife died from cholera in La Salle county, in 1849. Their son, Ole Olson Hetletvedt, the namesake of his uncle, was born in Skjold Parish in Norway, April 24, 1824, and now resides at Norway, Benton county, Iowa. He has been helpful to me in giving me facts about his family.

The first couple to emigrate from Voss, in Bergen Stift in Norway, were Nels Röthe and his wife Thorbjör. They emigrated in 1836 and must have come in one of the Köhler brigs, from Stavanger. They spent a year or two in Rochester, N. Y., and then moved to Chicago, where they died. In 1839 we find them living in an old log house in that city.

Among the Norwegians who emigrated in 1836, I may still mention Lars Larson Brimsoe,

who was born October 14, 1812. On January 1, 1849, he married Anna Hendrikson Sebbe, from Hjelmeland. The widow came to America in 1848, and now resides in Strand, Adams county, Iowa. Her father, Henrik Erikson Sebbe, came to America in 1836 with his two sons. They first settled in the Fox River settlement, but in 1848, they went to Salt Lake City, and there joined the Mormons. I take it that they were the first Norwegians to enter the territory of Utah. Since the death of Henrik, in Utah, several years ago, nothing has been heard of the family. Lars Larson Brimsoe came from Stavanger, where he was born. After spending some time in New York and in Chicago, as a carpenter and sailor, he moved to the Fox River settlement. There he soon became known for his ability, and he was repeatedly elected to the office of justice of the peace. He read law extensively and made contracts, deeds and wills for his neighbors. He also argued cases in justice courts. In 1858, he moved to Benton county, Iowa, in 1872, to Adams county of that state, and in 1873, to Montgomery county. In the last named county, a sad accident shortened his life. One dark night, September 26, 1873, as he was coming home from Villisca, on entering his yard, near his home, his horses

backed his wagon over a steep embankment and both he and the horses were killed.

During the cholera epidemic in the Fox River settlement, Lars Brimsoe, being a carpenter, was employed in making coffins for the dead. In order that Lars himself should not be exposed to the terrible disease, the neighbors would run the boards through a window into his shop, where he made the coffins, which were returned through the same opening in the wall. For a time orders came in faster than he could fill them.

I could mention many more of those who came in 1836, but the trouble is, I have gathered too few facts in regard to their lives and a mere list of their names would not be very interesting. I would simply have to say that Lars B. Olson settled in La Salle county, Illinois, then moved to Iowa, where he died; that Lars B. Mikkelson settled in La Salle county, Illinois, and died there; that Knud Olson located in La Salle county, Illinois, and died there in 1846, but the reader would soon get tired of this sort of narration.

Among the Norwegians who arrived in 1836, though not in either of the Köhler brigs, I must mention Lars Tallakson, now residing in La Salle county, Illinois. I visited him at his

home in August, 1894. He was born in Bergen, Norway, August 13, 1805, was a shoemaker by trade, and six years after his marriage, he emigrated by way of Gothenborg, and landed in New York, August 18, 1836. He remained in New York two years, working at his trade. In 1838, he went to Clark county, the northeast corner of Missouri, and remained there three years. No Norwegian settlement was formed there, and Lars Tallakson left Missouri and settled in Lee county, Iowa, near Keokuk, in 1841, and remained there about six years. He joined the settlement which Kleng Peerson founded there in 1840. From there he went to the Bishop Hill colony and joined Eric Janson's society, and it was while he was there that he saw Kleng Peerson married to a Swedish Jansonite, and he lent Peerson his hat for the occasion. He soon got tired of Jansonism and abandoning the colony, he removed to his present home in La Salle county, where he owns a fine farm and is still very vigorous for his age. He deserves to be remembered as one of the first Norwegians to cross the Mississippi, and to reside in Missouri and Iowa.

I have stated that Knud Slogvig was the promoter and leader of the exodus in 1836; but among those who contributed to swell the num-

ber of emigrants, I may be permitted to mention my father, Björn Anderson, from the farm Kvelve, in Vigedal, north of Stavanger. It was on account of his active agitation that the emigrants required two vessels, instead of only one. He was a born agitator and debater, and I have it from persons who knew him well in Norway, that Björn Anderson always gathered a crowd around him outside of the church before service or at other public gatherings to listen to his sarcastic criticisms of Norwegian laws and of the office-holding class. In Stavanger, he had become acquainted with Elias Tastad, Lars Larson and other Quakers, and while he did not formally join the Quaker society, he was in close sympathy with the Friends, and he always said that if he ever joined any church, it would be that of the Quakers. His life and conduct were controlled by Quaker principles. He lived on a farm near the sea, and when he became of age, he bought a yacht, and became a trader, exchanging merchandise for produce in Stavanger and at other ports in the vicinity. When he learned of America, and of Knud Slogvig's plans to load a ship with emigrants, to sail from Stavanger in the spring of 1836, he at once decided to leave Norway and so began to talk to his friends

about the land in the far west, and about the advantages offered there to settlers. He was well informed, very persuasive, and the result was, that he induced many to join him. He was practically a Quaker, and so felt more or less the effect of the persecution of all dissenters from the established church of Norway. But this was not all. Besides being a dissenter from the established church, he had married outside of his class or station, his wife being the daughter of an officer in the Norwegian army, and this was an additional reason for his wishing to get away from his native country. He wanted for his wife's sake to get to a land where "a man is a man for a' that," and so he and his wife and two boys, Andrew and Bruun, born in 1832 and 1834, became passengers in the Köhler brig "Norden" which left Stavanger the first Sunday after Pentecost and arrived in New York, July 12, 1836. Einar Anderson Aasen, who came in the same ship, and still lives near Danville, La Salle county, Illinois, has informed me that all the passengers looked up to Björn Anderson as their leader, and came to him for advice in all their troubles.

In regard to his life in America, I take the liberty of reproducing here a sketch of him and of my mother, written for a Madison, Wis., pa-

per, immediately upon the death of my mother, which occurred October 31, 1885. I have taken the liberty of making a few necessary additions and changes and inserting some dates, and naming a few places in order to make it conform as nearly as possible to the facts as I know them.

"On Thursday last (Nov. 5, 1885) Abel Catherine Amundson, was laid in her final resting place in the family burying ground on the old homestead, in the town of Albion, Dane county. She died Saturday evening, October 31, at the home of one of her daughters, Dina, the wife of Rev. T. A. Torgerson, near Bristol, Worth county, Iowa, where she had lived during the last eighteen years. The funeral services were conducted at the East church on Koshkonong prairie by the former pastor of the family, Rev. J. A. Ottesen, in the presence of a large number of friends and relatives.

"The deceased was a woman of remarkably beautiful character, equipped with those virtues which are the adornment of her sex. As she was the first white woman that settled in the town of Albion, Dane county, Wisconsin, some facts of her life will undoubtedly be of interest.

"She was born in Sandeid Parish, Vigedal

District, Stavanger Amt, in Norway, October 8, 1809. Her father, Bernhardus Arnoldus von Krogh, had been a lieutenant in the Norwegian army, but on account of bodily injuries received in the service, he had been obliged to resign and had settled on a small farm called Westbö, in Sandeid, as a pensioner. Her mother, too, was of the well-known von Krogh stock, the ancestry of which presents one unbroken line of military officers, back to a certain Major Bernhardus von Krogh, who was a native of the free city of Lubeck, and who in 1644, came with troops from the city of Bremen to render aid to Denmark against Sweden. The major was married to a certain Alida von Bolten, daughter of Dietrich von Bolten, at one time Burgomaster of Bremen. Major von Krogh remained in the Danish service, and his only son George Frederik von Krogh became Colonel of a Norwegian regiment in 1710. His descendants in Norway are numerous, and the great majority of them became military officers. Two of them, father and son, each of whom bore the same name, George Frederik, were at different periods, commanders in chief of the Norwegian armies. The younger of these (born 1732—died 1818),who served his country sixty-eight years was the right hand man of King Frederik

the Sixth, of Denmark, during the trying days of the Napoleonic wars, when the Swedes and Russians were intriguing for the cession of Norway to Sweden.

"In the month of July, 1831, Abel Cartherine von Krogh was married to Björn Anderson, from the farm Kvelve in the Vigedal parish joining Sandeid on the east. He was born June 3, 1801, and was the son of a peasant. The marriage of the refined daughter of a military officer to a peasant's son, naturally caused some bitterness of feeling. The fact, too, that Björn Anderson was a dissenter from the state church, and sympathized with the Quakers who had been making propaganda in Stavanger city and Amt during the past fifteen years, while the von Krogh family were pious and loyal Lutherans, served to increase the displeasure with which this marriage was regarded.

"There was the right stuff in both, however, and they determined to seek their fortune in that land across the sea, whose star was beginning to appear above the horizon, beckoning to the oppressed of Europe. Accordingly they left Norway in the spring of 1836, Björn Anderson being with Knud Slogvig, the promoter and leader of the first large party of emigrants that came to America."

Having arrived at New York city, July 12, 1836, Björn Anderson and his wife, with their two children, Andrew and Bruun, proceeded to Rochester, N. Y., where they found the Quaker, Lars Larson (i Jeilane), who was very kind and helpful, and where they remained one year, the husband working at the trade of a cooper. It was on this account he received the soubriquet "Töndebjörn," that is Barrel-Björn. This nickname clung to him to his dying day. In the spring of 1837, he removed to the town of Mission, La Salle county, Illinois, where he kept his family for four years, that is until the spring of 1841. The first six months they lived at the house of Carrie Nelson (Kari Hauge) on the farm selected for her by her brother, Kleng Peerson. Then Björn Anderson lived a short time at the house of Endre Aarakerbö, also called Endre Glasman, whereupon he built himself a small log house in what is now the town of Rutland, near the "slooper," Endre Dahl. The place is located about a mile south from where Mr. Claes Claeson now lives.* This Claes Claeson is a native of Norway, born January 13, 1832, whose parents came from Norway to Rutland in 1843. Björn Anderson did not like La Salle county, and bought no land

* I visited the spot in the summer of 1894.—R. B. A.

there. He supported himself and his family by working for the neighbors, being handy at all kinds of work. In 1837, he was in Chicago and there met a company of Norwegians, among whom was Ole Rynning (of whom more later), but Björn Anderson spoke so disparagingly of the Fox River settlement, saying that the people there starved and froze to death, that he indirectly became instrumental in inducing Ole Rynning and his friends to found the fatal Beaver Creek settlement. Björn Anderson had never been at Beaver Creek, but his severe criticisms on La Salle county naturally influenced the immigrants of 1837 to seek another locality. Blame has been cast on Björn Anderson's name in connection with the Beaver Creek fatalities, but this is utterly unjust. While he disparaged La Salle county, he did not recommend Iroquois county, which he had never seen.

"In 1840," to again adopt the language of the Madison paper, "Björn Anderson, with several companions, set out on foot on an exploring expedition to Wisconsin, in search of a suitable place for a new home. They determined on a tract near Lake Koshkonong, in what is now the town of Albion, Dane county,

Wisconsin. Two of his companions remained until autumn, being unmarried, while Björn Anderson returned to Illinois at once, and all of them spent the following winter in the Fox River settlement. The succeeding spring, 1841, he went with his wife and now four children, to their newly chosen home in Wisconsin. They were the first couple that settled in the present town of Albion, and the tale of hardships that that fact carries with it seems but a sad romance to a younger generation. But during all the trials of this pioneer life, neither flinched for a moment. The chief characteristics of each was energy and will. He was bold, restless, pushing. She was gentle, quiet, persevering. During the first few years, money was an article seldom seen. They subsisted mainly on the products of the little farm, and with what little produce they could spare the husband went with oxen to Milwaukee, a distance of seventy miles, through a wilderness, to barter for a few necessaries of life. During his absence, the wife remained at home with the children and with the red men as an occasional, but fortunately, not unfriendly visitor. Courage and perseverance were indeed cardinal requisites for success in life under such circumstances. These characteristics both

possessed in a high degree, and through incessant toil, in the course of time, they became comfortably situated. Their original one hundred and twenty acres of wild land, had, at the end of a decade, increased into an improved farm of two hundred and thirty acres. But the battles of pioneer life having been successfully fought, a new and more terrible enemy approached.

"In the summer of 1850, the cholera swept through the settlement, and among scores of others, Björn Anderson and his sixteen year old son were carried off. The son, Augustinus Meldahl Bruun, who was born in Norway, died August 6, and Björn Anderson himself four days later, August 10, 1850.

"Thus Björn did not live to enjoy the fruits of their joint labors. Just as fortune began to smile upon them, grim death snatched him from her side. Nor was it his lot to see any of his children pass the bounds of youth; but his oft expressed wish that a brighter future might be in store for them, his wife lived to see realized. The children of this marriage were ten in number, eight of whom are now (1895) living. One daughter was born, and died in Rochester, N. Y., and as stated, one son died in 1850. The oldest son, Arnold

Andrew, born in Norway in 1832, is a well-to-do farmer in Goodhue county, Minnesota. Elisabeth, born in La Salle county, Illinois, in 1837, married Hans Danielson, who served through the war and now resides on a farm in Goodhue county, Minn. Cecelia, born in La Salle county, Ill., in 1840, married Rev. S. S. Reque, and resides at Spring Grove, Minnesota. Martha, born in Albion in 1841, and, so far as I know, the first white child born there, married Lewis Johnson, a Dane, and now lives on a farm in Goodhue county, Minnesota. Dina, born in Albion in 1843, married Rev. T. A. Torgerson, and resides in Worth county, Iowa. Rasmus B. was born in Albion in 1846, and now resides at Madison, Wis. Abel B., born in Albion, in 1847, is a minister of the gospel and college professor at Montevideo, Minn. Bernt Augustinus Bruun, born in Albion in 1851, is a merchant in Spring Grove, Minn.

"On March 18, 1854, the widow Anderson married Bright Amundson from Stavanger, Norway. He died July 21, 1861, leaving one son, Albert Christian, who is now a practicing physician in Cambridge, Wis. At the time of her death, Mrs. Amundson had fifty-three grandchildren and one great-grandchild."

After the death of Björn Anderson, the

widow had all the children, except the oldest, baptized by a Danish Methodist minister by name Willerup, the oldest son Andrew having been christened in Norway. This Willerup subsequently removed to Denmark, where I visited him in 1885 shortly before he died. My mother later joined the Lutheran church in Dane county, and was a most loyal and pious christian woman, this being the unanimous testimony of her pastors, her neighbors and her children

My brother, Arnold Andrew, who was born April 9, 1832, tells me that he has no recollection of arriving in Rochester. He remembers, however, that the family lived upstairs in a house with stairway on the outside, and that below on the first floor there lived an American family, in which there was a blind fiddler. He and his brother Bruun went to the door occasionally to listen to the music. Father worked in a cooper-shop, and mother took his dinner to him. From Rochester they went by canal boat to Buffalo and thence by steamer to Chicago. Andrew describes the little house that father erected in Illinois as built of logs, with rough boards for the loft, but with no other floor than the bare ground. This house had to accommodate not only my father's family, but

also Lars Scheie and his family and Amund Rossaland and his wife, and sons and daughter. The sons Elling and Endre Rossaland went with their father to Wisconsin, and the daughter Anna married Tönnes Tollefson, and settled in Boone county, Ill., near Beloit, Wis., where I visited her about twenty years ago. This Tönnes Tollefson came from Klep Parish, Stavanger Amt, in one of the Köhler brigs in 1836. The farm on which he was born was called Oexnavar. He lived four years in the Fox River settlement before he moved to Boone county. His wife's father, Amund Rossaland, with her brothers, Elling and Endre, settled in Fairfield, Columbia county, Wis. There they all died except Endre, who spent the last days of his life at the home of his sister on Jefferson prairie. Elling was killed by an accident near Kilbourn, Wis. Tönnes Tollefson died in the fall of 1893 and the widow, Anna, about the year 1888. After my father's death Mr. and Mrs. Tollefson took my sister Cecelia and kept her a couple of years. To quote my brother Andrew: "The log house in the Fox River settlement in Illinois was located on Endre Dahl's land. This sloop family lived only forty rods distant and owned a farm. Endre Dahl, Amund Rossaland and

Lars Scheie were all intimate friends of father's. The country was, of course, thinly settled, but father was a worker and during the three years spent in Illinois, he was making preparations for a home of his own somewhere. In the summer of 1838 a drove of cattle came into the neighborhood, and father bought a large cow with her calf and paid $40 for them. The cow was a wonderful milker. The next purchase was a pair of black steers, large size. These steers were yoked for the first time by an American neighbor, and when they were let out of the yard to be driven around, the American took hold of the borns, but the steers got away from him and ran against a tree and broke the yoke. During 1840 preparations were made to locate in Wisconsin. A party was made up, consisting of father, Amund Anderson, Lars Dugstad, Thorstein Olson Bjaadland, Amund Rossaland and his son-in-law, Tönnes Tollefson. It was understood that the territory of Wisconsin had been surveyed and that land was for sale by the United States government. They went to Koshkonong (Albion, Dane county, Wis.), and father, Amund Anderson, Lars Dugstad and Thorstein Olson Bjaadland bought land, while Amund Rossaland and Tönnes Tollefson were not satisfied with the locality, but

went further south and located in Boone county, Ill.. near Beloit, Wis., in the so-called Jefferson Prairie settlement.

"In the spring of 1841 we moved to Koshkonong with all our belongings. The family then consisted of our parents, myself, Bruun, Elisabeth and Cecelia. Our route was through Shabona Grove and Rockford, Ill.; thence to Beloit, Janesville and Milton, Wis. From Milton we went due north to Goodrich's ferry across Rock river. After we had crossed the river I can remember that father exclaimed: 'Now we have arrived in the land of Canaan' (Naa æ me komne i Kanaans Land). Thorstein Olson Bjaadland was with us with a yoke of oxen, and father had the black steers, which were not broke. Both Thorstein Olson's team and ours were hitched to a wagon which father owned. Thorstein Olson and Amund Anderson had built shanties on their farms before they returned to Illinois in 1840, and we lived in Thorstein's shanty while father built the little log house down by the spring (the house in which you, Rasmus, was born)."

"A few weeks after we had arrived in Albion, Amund Anderson (Hornefjeld) came with his family. Amund had gotten married that same year in La Salle county, Ill., to Ingeborg, the

widow of Erik Johnson. He brought his wife and two step-children, Betsey Ann (Anne Berthe) and John, and I remember the enthusiastic greeting we gave them, when they came to Thorstein Olson's shanty. They moved directly into the shanty that Amund had built in 1840. You see that Thorstein Olson Bjaadland and Amund Anderson Hornefjeld had remained a while during the summer of 1840 and had put up these shanties; but they came back to Illinois and spent the winter. Thorstein Olson came with us, and Amund Anderson came a few weeks later, in 1841. The earliest actual settlers in that neighborhood that I remember were Gunnul Olson Vindeg and his wife, Knud Olson Vindeg, his unmarried brother, and Lars Kvendalen, also unmarried. They lived in the town of Christiana, north of Albion. They were Norwegians who had come there in the summer of 1840 from Rock county, Wis. Father had engaged Knud Vindeg and Lars Kvendalen to split some rails during the winter of 1840 and 1841, so as to have them on hand when he came there to locate with his family in 1841. I remember seeing the rails and heard father complain that they were made too small. They were made in the timber, on the hill, a short distance from our bridge across the creek.

Lars Olson Dugstad, a bachelor from Voss in Norway, had a dugout on the side of a hill near the creek, but I do not know whether it was made before we came or not. He continued to live in it until about 1855 or 1856, when he got married and moved into a large log house. At all events, father, Amund Anderson, Thorstein Olson and Lars Dugstad each bought eighty acres of land in Albion in 1840 and paid for it, and father pre-empted forty acres, where the house was built by the spring."

VIII.

The Second Norwegian Settlement in America.

We have now seen how the first Norwegian settlement in America in this century was founded in Kendall, Orleans county, N. Y. We have seen that it was not destined to grow into a prominent center for the Norwegians in this country. It merely served as a sort of half-way home for those who came between the years 1825 and 1836, and for some of those who came in 1836.

We have seen what became of the sloop people and of some of those who came after them,

down to the year 1836, and I have also given some account of a few of the two hundred who sailed from Stavanger in 1836. In showing what became of the sloop people and of those who came after them down to 1836, I have repeatedly mentioned other Norwegian settlements, and I am now prepared to consider in detail the formation of the *second* Norwegian settlement in America and the first west of the great lakes.

Only a small number of the immigrants of 1836 stopped in New York state. We have seen that Andrew Anderson Aasen went with his family to Kendall and remained there two years, and that Björn Anderson Kvelve remained a year in Rochester as a cooper. The most of them continued their journey to Chicago and thence to Mission, La Salle county, Illinois, where the *second Norwegian settlement* had already been founded. This location had been selected by the restless Kleng Peerson Hesthammer, from Tysver, Norway, the man who with Knud Olson Eide came to America in 1821 and returned to Norway in 1824, the man who came back to America in 1825, and was in New York ready to receive his friends in the sloop; the man who, with the aid of Joseph Fel-

lows and other Quakers, selected Kendall as the location for the first settlement.

Kleng was without a shadow of doubt the first Norwegian who ever came west of the great lakes. He seems to have spent several years with his countrymen in Kendall, but I have complete evidence that he visited La Salle county, Illinois, as early as 1833. The first Norwegian settlers located there in 1834, and it is well known that Kleng had been there the year before. Kleng stated that when in 1833 he was exploring the country afterwards occupied by his countrymen in La Salle county, becoming weary one day he lay down under a tree to rest. He slept and dreamed, and in his dream he saw the wild prairie changed into a cultivated region, teeming with all kinds of grain and fruit most beautiful to behold; that splendid houses and barns stood all over the land, occupied by a rich, prosperous and happy people. Alongside the fields of waving grain large herds of cattle were feeding. Kleng interpreted this as a vision and as a token from Almighty God that his countrymen should come there and settle. He forgot his pain and hunger and thanked God that he had permitted his eyes to behold this beautiful region and he

decided to advise his countrymen to come west and settle there. He thought of Moses, who, from the mountain, had looked into the land of promise. Refreshed and nerved anew by his dream, he went back to Kendall and persuaded his friends to emigrate to La Salle county, Ill. Kleng's dream may have been dreamed awake, but it has been fully realized. The early days of this Norwegian settlement were days of poverty and toil and they repeatedly suffered terribly by Asiatic cholera, saying nothing of the fever and ague of the early days, but they have surmounted their trials, and as I saw them in the summer of 1894 they were as wealthy, prosperous and happy as when they were seen in Kleng's dream, and I shall never forget that generous hospitality with which I was received at every hand. Those were happy days indeed that I spent in this old Norwegian settlement! I have the account of Kleng Peerson's dream or vision from Knud Langland, from Christopher Danielson of Sheridan, Ill., from his niece, Mrs. Fellows, in Ottawa, Ill., and also from several others to whom he told the story, so there is no doubt that Kleng himself related it as a fact.

Kleng Peerson returned to Kendall, N. Y., and in the spring of 1834 he with several others

moved out to Illinois and founded the so-called *Fox River settlement*, in the town of Mission, La Salle county, Ill., not far from Ottawa.

At that time the land had not been surveyed into sections and did not come into the market before 1835. Those who came with Kleng Peerson in 1834 were as nearly as I can make out: Endre Dahl, Jacob Anderson Slogvig, Gudmund Haugaas, Nels Thompson, and Thorstein Olson Bjaadland, who had gone back to Kendall from Michigan. In the summer of 1894 I talked with John Armstrong, who was born in Somerset county, Pa., May 29, 1810. He came to Tazewell county, Ill., in 1829, embracing at that time all the state north to the state line until the winter of 1830--1831. He took up land in what is now Marshall county, on wild prairie, where he built a blacksmith shop and log cabin which he sold in 1831. In 1834 he settled in Mission township, where he has since resided and is one of the well-to-do farmers of the county. He is still vigorous both in mind and in body. Mr. John Strawn Armstrong informed me that a couple of these Norwegians worked for him on his claim in the summer of 1834, and while other writers have stated that the first Norwegians did not come to La Salle county before 1835, I have sifted all the evi-

dence thoroughly and am entirely convinced that at least those mentioned above came there in 1834, selected land, and waited for it to come into market the following spring.

I have myself examined the records at Ottawa and found that the following named Norwegians purchased land in the towns of Mission, Miller and Rutland in 1835:

1. In Mission: June 17, Kleng Peerson, 80 acres; June 17, Carrie Nelson (Kari Hauge, that is, the widow of Cornelius Nelson). Kleng Peerson bought the land for her, 80 acres; June 25, Kleng Peerson, 80 acres.

2. In Rutland: June 15, Jacob Anderson Slogvig, 80 acres; June 15, Gudmund Haugaas, 160 acres.

3. In Miller: June 17, Gjert Hovland, 160 acres; Thorstein Olson, 80 acres; June 17, Thorstein Olson bought 80 acres, which he sold the following September 5 to Nels Nelson Hersdal; June 17, Nels Thompson, 160 acres; January 16, 1836, Thorstein Olson bought 80 acres more. Gjert Hovland did not come to La Salle county before 1835, and we also know that Nels Nelson Hersdal came out there without his family in 1835 and returned to Kendall, N. Y., the same year, but all the others mentioned as buying

land in 1835 undoubtedly came in a body in 1834, guided thither by Kleng Peerson.

This setlement grew rapidly and gradually spread into the adjoining counties. The original settlers soon welcomed many old neighbors to the land of their adoption. Like the Kendall settlement in New York, the Fox River settlement must be credited to Kleng Peerson. He was a restless, roving spirit, and under favorable circumstances he might have achieved great fame as an explorer. He led the way in the settlement of the Norwegians on American soil, and thousands of the natives of Norway and their descendants now occupying happy and luxurious homes in the Fox river valley owe their prosperity and happiness in part at least to the leadership and efforts of that remarkable man, Kleng Peerson.

When I visited this settlement in the summer of 1894, I received a royal welcome by the old settlers who had known my parents in 1837 to 1841, and I am under special obligations, for courtesies extended, to Mr. J. A. Quam and his family (his wife is a niece of Nels Nelson, Jr., the last male survivor of the sloop people); to Andrew Gaard, to J. O. Sebby, to Christopher Danielson, to Mrs. Hulda Olson, who came in the sloop; to Ole Thompson Eie, who came in

the ship "Enigheden" in 1837; to Einar Anderson Aasen, who crossed the ocean in 1836 in the same ship with my parents; to Claes Claesson (a prosperous farmer in Rutland), and to many others of the citizens there. I met Mrs. Bower, a daughter of Gudmund Haugaas, in Sheridan, and in Ottawa I met Mrs. Fellows and Mrs. Mitchell, the two sisters who came in the sloop, and also Mr. M. B. Mitchell, the grandson of Gudmund Sandsberg, who came to America in 1829. To Mr. M. B. Mitchell, Mr. Quam, Mr. Gaard, and particularly to Mr. Chr. Danielson, I am under obligations for many valuable letters in regard to the early immigrants. In church matters I found that a few were still Quakers, while the largest number adhere to the Lutheran faith. A considerable number are Methodists, and the Mormons or more properly, Latter Day Saints, have a church of about 140 members, Thomas Haugaas, a son of Gudmund Haugaas, being their preacher.

Among people who came from Norway before 1840 and settled in La Salle county, I may mention the following. To the descendants of many of them I have written for particulars, but as a rule I have not succeeded in securing the desired information.

Halvor Knutson came to America in 1831.

Hans Olson came in 1839.

Andrew Anderson Aasen came in 1836. He is mentioned elsewhere in this volume.

Knud Halvorson came with his parents from Norway in 1838.

Knud T. Olson from Riskedal, near Stavanger, came with his father, Ole Knudson, in 1837.

Nels Halvorson came with his parents, Halvor Knudson and Betsey Torgerson, in 1838.

Lars Fruland came with his father, Nels Fruland, in 1837.

Ole T. Olson came in 1836.

Halvor Nelson came in 1836.

Thove Tillotson came in 1837.

Paul Iverson came in 1837.

Halvor K. Halvorson came in 1838.

Hans O. Hanson came in 1839.

Osmon Thomason came from Stavanger in 1837. He died in 1876, 92 years old.

Torkel H. Erikson came in 1837.

Canute Williamson came in 1838.

Knut Olson came in 1836.

Lars Nelson came in 1838.

Henry Sibley came in 1838.

Michael Olson came in 1839.

Lars B. Olson came in 1837.

I have gathered these names from Baldwin's History of La Salle County, and from other sources.

IX.

Kleng Peerson.

Before beginning the description of other Norwegian settlements I will now consider once more the career of that remarkable man, Kleng Peerson Hesthammer. He was born on a farm called Hesthammer, in Tysver Parish, Skjold District, Stavanger Amt or county, Norway, May 17, 1782. We have seen that in his earlier years he became a dissenter and that he was substantially a Quaker, being on particularly friendly terms with the Friends. He inspired the organization of the sloop party in 1825, and with the aid of Joseph Fellows and other American Quakers, he selected Kendall, Orleans county, as the location of the first Norwegian settlement. From 1825 to 1833 I have no knowledge of his whereabouts, but I presume he spent the most of that time in Kendall and in Rochester, N. Y. In 1833 we find him in company with a Quaker from Tysver (Ingebret

Larson Narvig, who had come from Norway to Boston in 1831 and footed it from there to Kendall), and another man on his way to the far west. Ingebret Larson Narvig left him and went to work for a farmer in Michigan. Kleng (and presumably the other man, whom I have not been able to identify) continued the journey westward, until he reached La Salle county, Ill., and there selected the location of the second Norwegian settlement. The Kendall and Fox River settlements are his undying glory. But as I have repeated so often, he was a restless fellow. While the records show that he bought a considerable amount of land in La Salle county, still he did not settle on it. He simply purchased it for his relatives and friends. As has been shown in the preceding pages, many of the early settlers in La Salle county were Kleng Peerson's relatives. He did not care to work. He needed but little for his support and this little he got largely by visiting among his relatives and friends. He was a man of strict integrity and any matter entrusted to him would be performed with scrupulous honesty. He looked upon himself as the pathfinder and father of Norwegian immigration. At the homes where he visited he would ask the housewife for her knitting-work and request her to

make coffee. He would then lie down on the bed and knit and drink coffee and talk about his extensive travels. He was a most excellent story-teller and consequently a welcome visitor everywhere. In his domestic relations he had been unfortunate. A veil is spread over the details, and all I have been able to find out is that he was married in Norway to a woman by name Catherine, before he went to America in 1821. She was much older than he, had considerable property, but for some reason or other they did not get on well. At all events, he abandoned her and Catherine probably did not regret his departure. In 1847 we find him in the well-known Bishop Hill colony in Henry county, Ill., and while there he married a Swedish woman belonging to Erik Janson's colony. Her name was Charlotte Marie. I know this from Lars Tallakson, who still lives in La Salle county and was in the Bishop Hill colony at the time. Lars Tallakson informed me that he lent Kleng his hat for the wedding. It is due to Kleng, however, to add that he stated before marrying Charlotte Marie in 1847, that his first wife Catherine, whom he had left in Norway, was then dead. Charlotte Marie died from cholera in 1849.

Ingebret Larson Narvig told a friend of mine

that Kleng was proud and essentially an adventurer, that he had married a woman of means, and that he desired very much to get into possession of her property. As he did not succeed he left her, declaring he would get on without either her or her property.

And while I do not care to suppress Mr. Narvig's testimony I take pleasure in presenting in this connection the following extract from a letter recently received from Kleng Peerson's niece, Mrs. Bishop Sarah A. Peterson, of Ephraim, Utah. She is the daughter of the slooper, Cornelius Nelson, and married Canute Peterson Marsett, who came to America in 1837, and who afterwards became bishop of Ephraim, Utah. On February 27, 1895, Mrs. Sarah A. Peterson writes me: "My uncle Peerson read and heard much of the lovely country in the west and he resolved to go and see for himself. He came back with such glowing descriptions that all got the emigration fever and moved west. Joseph Fellows also owned land out there. The Norwegians could get land for $1.25 per acre. There were no forests to cut away and burn before plowing and putting in crops. So when Kleng came back it was not long before all were ready to move west.

"Uncle Kleng sold my mother's and his own

land in Kendall. My father being dead, uncle Kleng did all the business, bought land for all the money and gave us eighty acres each. This was not all we should have had, but uncle believed in dividing the land among the newcomers and the poor. He never reserved an acre for himself. He was the most unselfish person I ever saw. He was always busy finding land for the immigrants, and used all his means for the comforts of others. He left his wife Catherine in Norway. He went back several times, but she would not come with him to America. So after about twenty-five years he married again a Swedish woman by name Charlotte Marie, and she died from cholera in 1849. He was in La Salle county when I left my home to go to Utah. He felt very bad to think I should go beyond the Rocky mountains with such bad people as the Mormons.

"He spent all his time in trying to do good to the strangers that came, and was always colonizing and finding homes for orphans. I have known him to carry children on his back for miles to get good places for them. If he got a place for them and they were not treated well he took them away again. In this way he made both friends and enemies. He was not a man that worked. He traveled and kept busy

trying to do good to others for but very little thanks. He was fond of coffee, but I never saw him knit. For my own part, I shall always feel thankful to him for being the means of getting my parents to come to this splendid country and particularly for the fact that I am in Utah.

"Andrew Dahl has a son in Utah and he has a nice family. He has two half-brothers that came to America with the second group of immigrants. Their father's name was S. Jacobson Aasen, and he died in Kendall, N. Y. Eystein Sanderson Bakke was one that settled in Beaver Creek in 1837. He and his wife died there, but three of his children came to Utah. Ellen, the oldest daughter, came with the pioneer company. She was one of the three women that crossed the Rocky mountains, and came into Salt Lake valley in 1849. The others came later. My husband, Canute Peterson Marsett, came from Norway in the same ship with them but settled in Beaver creek. Thousands of Norwegians are here in Utah and have been coming ever since the beginning of the settlement of this territory."

It is said of Kleng that he spoke English fluently, could read French, and was able to make himself understood among the Germans; thus with the Norwegian, he had the command

of four languages. He was a most interesting talker. To the Americans, he was able to describe the landscapes and life of old Norway; to his countrymen, he could give an account of soil and climate in various parts of the far west. People gathered around him wherever he came, to listen to his reports and stories, and when Kleng came to a neighborhood, the day was usually turned into a holiday. Under such circumstances it is easy to understand that he did not need to work and that his few necessaries were supplied without his being a mendicant, and he was satisfied with very little. He was a carpenter by trade, and what he earned, when he occasionally did work, he gave freely to his countrymen who needed assistance.

The next glimpse we get of Kleng, after he had founded the Fox River settlement, is in Shelby county, in the northeast corner of Missouri, in the year 1837. There he also founded a Norwegian settlement, but it not only did not receive any important accretions, but many of the settlers left it a few years later and founded another settlement called Sugar Creek, in Lee county, Iowa, about seven or eight miles west of Keokuk. Kleng must have been across the Mississippi before 1837, because he had already selected the location for the settlement, when,

in 1837, in company with Jacob Anderson Slogvig, Anders Askeland and twelve others, he went from La Salle county, to Missouri, in March, 1837. Writers have complained that Shelby county was badly chosen, but Andrew Simonson, who was one of the party, and who in October, 1879, was still living, wrote in a Norwegian newspaper, that "no settlement ever founded by Norwegians, in America, had a better appearance or better location, than this very land in Shelby county, of which the Norwegians took possession at that time, and which they in part still own."

It must be remembered that Missouri was a slave state, a fact which was very distasteful to the Norwegians, and of course Shelby county was far from any market. It being reported that there was good land to be had in Lee county, Iowa, only seven miles west of Keokuk, Kleng, at the request of Andrew Simonson and others, went there to inspect it, and the result was that Andrew Simonson, born November 10, 1810, and the majority of the settlers in Shelby county, moved to Lee county, for the sake of a nearer market, but Mr. Simonson maintains that they did not get as good land as they left in Missouri. At all events, Kleng became the founder both of the settlement in Shelby

county, Missouri, and of that in Lee county, Iowa, the former in 1837, the latter in 1840. Kleng purchased eighty acres of land in Shelby county. To recruit his colony there, he went to Norway in 1838, and in 1839 we find him bringing back with him a lot of immigrants. Kleng had done his recruiting in old Stavanger county, in Norway, and had secured as emigrants, for his Missouri colony, a carpenter, by name Ole Reierson, and his family, three brothers, Peter, William and Hans Tesman, Nils Olson and six or seven women. On arriving in New York, he proceeded with them to Cleveland, where he decided to take them by way of the Ohio river, to Missouri. But the water in the Ohio was low, and the party suffered many inconveniences before they finally reached their destination. Kleng's reason for going by way of the Ohio river was that the two persons mentioned above, who came with him to Missouri in 1837, viz., Anders Askeland and our well-known Jacob Slogvig, the slooper, had gone back to La Salle county, dissatisfied, and Kleng feared that if he went by way of the Fox River settlement, his recruits might be pursuaded not to proceed with him to his settlement in Missouri. The brothers Tesman, and possibly others of this company, later went

to the Sugar Creek settlement in Lee county, and there we also find Hans Barlien dying at an advanced age, in 1842. Some have supposed that the Sugar Creek settlement was founded by Hans Barlien, and he may have been with Kleng in Shelby county, Missouri; but the statement I have made in regard to the founding of the Sugar Creek settlement, is substantially correct. I shall have occasion to speak more fully of Hans Barlien later on.

In 1842, Kleng made a third visit to Norway, for what purpose I do not know. Mr. O. Canuteson, one of the early Norwegian settlers in Texas, and now a prosperous business man in Waco, Texas, writes me under date of December 16, 1894, as follows: "I am sure he (Kleng) made three trips to Norway. He came to my father's house (near Kobbervig, north of Stavanger). He brought letters from America to my father and others. I remember seeing him and I particularly remember a peculiarly made cloak that he wore. He had an atlas of the world, and showed us the maps, &c., and he took occasion to express himself as opposed to the power the churches were exercising over the people. What started him was that he found pictures of churches printed on the maps indicating that the countries were Christian. I remember he

had it in for the Catholics. My father and I transported him a short distance in a boat, to a man that had a son in America." This was probably in the autumn of 1842, for in May, 1843, we find him a passenger on board the bark "Juno," which sailed from Bergen for New York, with 80 passengers.

In 1847, we find Kleng selling his eighty acres of land in Shelby county, in Missouri, and joining the Swedish Bishop Hill colony, in Henry county, Illinois. The money he got for his Missouri farm, he contributed to Erik Janson's communistic society. Here he married a Swedish woman, belonging to Erik Janson's sect, but he soon got disgusted with the peculiar life in the Bishop Hill colony, and abandoning both his wife and the colony, and as he said, "robbed of all he possessed, and sick in body and mind," he went from Henry county, back to his old Fox River settlement and remained there until his health was restored.

At this point, I am in the dark in regard to the chronology, but either in 1848 or 1849, he must have made his first visit to Texas. He went down there evidently at the suggestion of John Nordboe, who had then lived several years five miles south of Dallas. Kleng visited John Nordboe, made some explorations in vari-

ous parts of Texas, having been as far west as within a few miles of the present Fort Worth, and returned to La Salle county, Illinois, in 1850, full of the Texas fever. The rest of his life is easily told in O. Canuteson's letter to me, dated December 16, 1894: "In 1850, my father, with his family, came to my uncle, Halvor Knudson, in Illinois. My mother had died from cholera between Chicago and Ottawa. In Ottawa, we found Kleng Peerson, just back from Texas, and on his advice, and on his promise to be our guide, we concluded to go to Texas. He stayed with us the three years we lived in Dallas county, and when we moved to Bosque county in 1854, he came with us, not as the leader then, but as a follower, being too old to undertake leadership any more. The last years of his life he had his home with O. Colwick (Kjölvig), but would of course, go around among his neighbors, where he was always welcome and felt at home.* He died December 16, 1865. One of his neighbors and I were with him the last hours of his life. I closed his eyes in the long sleep of death. He was buried in the

*In Texas, Kleng Peerson owned half a section of land, and a few cows, and all this property he gave to O. Colwick, the latter agreeing to take care of him the balance of his life.

Lutheran cemetery opposite the Norwegian church near Norse P. O. in Bosque county, and the Norwegians in Texas afterwards put a small stone monument on his grave with the following inscription written both in Norwegian and in English:

'Cleng Peerson,
The first Norwegian immigrant
to
America.
Came to America in 1821.
Born in Norway, Europe, May 17, 1782,
Died in Texas, December 16, 1865.
Grateful countrymen in Texas erected this
monument to his memory.'"

Mr. O. Canuteson contributed $15 to this monument, and superintended the matter of collecting funds and having it made. So far as I know, it is the only monument put up in honor of a Norwegian, in America, by public subscription.

I have stated that Kleng Peerson was a dissenter from the church of Norway, and that although he did not personally join the society, he was in sympathy with the Quakers, that he got help from the Friends in Stavanger for his first journey to America in 1821, and that he, by the help of Quakers in New York, not only

selected Kendall as the place of the first settlement, but also secured financial aid to transport the sloop people from New York to Kendall. He also had the help of Quakers in securing land in the second settlement in La Salle county, Ill. While he admired the Quakers, he gradually drifted more and more away from all churches, and the fact is that before he died he had lost all faith in the Christian religion. On this point I am able to quote my friend, O. Canuteson, who lived in the same house with him for many years in Texas, who was with him in his dying hours, and who closed his eyes in death. He says: "I was intimately acquainted with Kleng Peerson from 1850 until his death in 1865. He was the most pronounced free-thinker I have ever known. I remember his having an old Danish free-thinking book translated from the German. He believed little or nothing of the Bible, especially of the supernatural part thereof. Whether he at any time had belonged to the Quakers, I can not say positively, but time and again I heard him talk about them as models in religious and temporal matters, and I heard him talk about getting assistance, aid and comfort from Elias Tastad of Stavanger, Norway, he being their leader in that city."

Kleng Peerson was thoroughly unselfish in his character, and he devoted his life largely to the service of his countrymen. While he never had what might properly be called a home after he left Norway, he spent his time and his scanty means in getting homes for others. In Kendall and in Illinois he secured land for his relatives and friends. By his trade as a carpenter he occasionally earned a few dollars, but these he freely gave to others who needed them. When he had nothing of his own to give away he would beg from the rich and give to the poor. So far as I can make out, he made the most of his extensive journeys in this country on foot. On these expeditions he became the founder of the settlements in Kendall, N. Y., in La Salle county, Ill., in Shelby county, Mo., in Lee county, Iowa, and he finally guided one family to Dallas county, Texas, although John Nordboe, Johan Reinert Reierson and others had been in Texas several years before Kleng came there.

This is as full and accurate account as I am able to give of old Kleng. His great services to Norwegian immigration deserve to be remembered and appreciated, and with all his eccentricities and shortcomings his countrymen will look upon him as a benefactor to his race and as an honest and benevolent man.

X.

The Third Norwegian Settlement.

The *third* permanent Norwegian settlement in America was founded in Chicago in 1836. Of course Norwegians had passed through there in 1834 and 1835 on their way to La Salle county, and Kleng Peerson doubtless was there in 1833. Halstein Torrison and Johan Larson have the honor of being the first two to locate in this city. Halstein Torrison came from Fjeldberg in Norway and settled in Chicago with his wife and children, October 16, 1836. His first house was on Wells street on the ground now occupied by the Chicago and Northwestern railroad depot. He certainly was the first one to get his own home in this city, where the Norwegians and their children are now numbered by the tens of thousands, and where so many Norwegians have become prominent as bankers, merchants, importers, physicians, ministers, lawyers, and publishers.

Johan Larson from Kobbervig in Norway was a sailor, and as such visited Chicago at an earlier period from Buffalo, but he located

there in 1836, about the same time as Halstein Torrison. When and how Torrison and Larson came from Norway, I do not know. Torrison left the city in 1848 and settled in Calumet, south of Chicago, where he died many years ago. In 1887, Mr. Johan Larson was still living.

XI.

The Exodus of 1837.

We have now considered the fate of the immigrants of 1836. We have seen how the *second Norwegian settlement* was founded in the towns of Mission, Miller and Rutland, La Salle county, in 1834, and how the *third Norwegian settlement* was founded in Chicago in 1836, and we have described the career of Kleng Peerson from his cradle to his grave. We have seen that letters from the first settlers, and particularly those from Gjert Gregoriuson Hovland, were widely read in Stavanger Amt and in Bergen Stift in Norway, and that Knud Anderson Slogvig, a slooper, returned to Norway in 1835. We have seen what a great influence these letters had, and how

Knud Slogvig became the leader of the exodus of 1836.

We may, therefore, now return to the year 1837, when two more ships brought Norwegian immigrants direct to America. These were "Enigheden" from Stavanger, and "Ægir" (the god of the sea in Norse mythology) from Bergen. We may look upon the exodus in 1837 as a continuation of that of 1836, and as produced by the same causes. It is fair to assume that all who decided to emigrate either did not get ready or did not secure passage in 1836. The ship "Enigheden," commanded by Capt. Jensen, started from Egersund, south of Stavanger, with a few emigrants on board, and then came to Stavanger, whence it sailed with ninety-three passengers. The cost of the passage to New York, not including board, was $31 for each grown person. The passengers on board this ship were partly from the city of Stavanger and partly from the surrounding country, from Hjelmeland, Aardal, Tysver and other parts of Stavanger county. They had fair weather, and were twelve weeks on the sea. Among the passengers on board "Enigheden" were Knud Olson Eide, supposed by some to have been Kleng Peerson's companion to America in 1821, and his family, Ole Thompson Eide from the

same farm in Norway as Knud, Christopher Danielson and Hans Valder (Vælde).

In the autumn of 1836 Capt. Behrens, who owned the ship "Ægir" which he commanded, returned to Bergen from America, where he had been with a cargo of freight. Learning that a considerable number of his countrymen in the vicinity of the city, particularly from Samnanger, had sold their farms and desired to emigrate to America, Capt. Behrens decided to change his vessel into an emigrant packet, and made a contract to carry these people over in 1837. Capt. Behrens had seen many German and English emigrant ships in New York, and hence he was well informed as to what to do to make his passengers comfortable in every respect. Moreover, he had carried back to Europe two German ministers who were bound for the fatherland to solicit subscriptions for churches they were about to build, and from these ministers he had learned much about the German immigration by way of Baltimore to Pennsylvania. On board "Ægir" there were eighty-four emigrants. Among these we may mention N. P. Langeland, who had been a school teacher in Norway, Mons Aadland, Nils Fröland, Anders Nordvig, Anders Rosseland, Thomas Bauge, Ingebrigt Brudvig, Thorbjörn

Veste, and others, all of whom had families. Among unmarried men Knud Langeland mentions by their surnames, only, Dövig, Rosseland, Bauge, Fröland, Nordvig, Hisdal and Tösseland. On this ship also came Ole Rynning, a man of whom I shall give a more full account later on. "Ægir" was eight weeks in crossing the Atlantic. In mid-ocean it collided with an American packet, but no damage was done.

The immigrants of 1837 also intended to go to the Fox River settlement, and many of those who came in "Enigheden" actually proceeded thither at once. But when the passengers in "Ægir" got as far as Chicago, they heard unfavorable reports from La Salle county, and so they revised their plans and took into consideration reports about good land to be had in Iroquois county, about seventy miles south of Chicago. This led to the unfortunate *Beaver Creek settlement.*

XII.

The Beaver Creek Settlement.

It was in Chicago these immigrants met my father, Björn Anderson, who had come to that city from the Fox River settlement. He gave

an unfavorable description of the colony in La Salle county, and would not recommend his countrymen to go there. He was entirely honest in his statements. He did not like the Fox river country, and neither bought land there nor intended to make his home there, and we know from what has been said of him that he took the first opportunity to look for a new place of settlement. But it is a great injustice to him to blame him for the misfortunes of those who went to Iroquois county. Björn Anderson had never been there, and consequently he neither could nor did recommend it to any one else.

A couple of Americans with whom Ole Rynning talked persuaded him to go with his friends to Beaver Creek, which was the name of the particular place in question. Others advised against the selection of this place, and in order to proceed as cautiously as possible, the new-comers decided to send four of their party to Beaver Creek to look at the land and the country. The persons chosen for this expedition were Ole Rynning, Niels Veste from Etne in Norway, Ingebrigt Brudvig and Ole Nattestad. Mr. Nattestad, with his brother Ansten, had just arrived by way of Gothenborg and Fall River, Mass., and had joined the newcomers in

Detroit, and had accompanied them to Chicago. The rest of the company remained in Chicago to await the result. Ole Nattestad says that he did not like the land, it being sandy and swampy, but as the others were pleased with it, it was agreed that Mr. Nattestad and Mr. Veste should remain and put up a log house for the reception of the immigrants, while Rynning and Brudvig returned to Chicago to fetch their friends. Some of those who were left in Chicago had, in the meantime, gone with my father to the Fox River settlement, but the most of them went with Rynning and Brudvig to Beaver Creek. There were no settlers in the immediate vicinity, and it was difficult to procure the common necessaries of life, although the most of these people were well supplied with money. Many of the new settlers grumbled and were inclined to find fault with Ole Rynning and the others who were responsible for the selection of this settlement. All chose land for farms, and before winter set in a sufficient number of log huts had been built. The number of settlers here was about fifty. These people were well, and in a measure happy, during the first winter, but the next spring the whole settlement was flooded and the swamp was turned into a veritable lake. In the summer the set-

tlers were attacked by malarial fever. In a short time no less than fourteen or fifteen deaths occurred, and among those who here found his last resting place was Ole Rynning, and, adds Mons Aadland, "his death was a great loss to the colony." The survivors fled, leaving farms and houses as there was nobody to buy land where a malarial atmosphere threatened the inhabitant with almost certain destruction. The most of those who fled found their way to the Fox River settlement, reaching there late in the summer of 1838. Only a few remained two or three years, defying the dangers to life and health. The last one to leave the colony was Mons Aadland, a brother of the well-known journalist and author, Knud Langland. He finally exchanged his farm for a small number of cows and oxen, and with these he went to Racine county, in Wisconsin, where we shall find him later on.

Such was the sad fate of the Beaver Creek enterprise, and as this settlement was wholly abandoned in 1840 we do not count it as one of the six settlements, the founding of which we are to describe in this volume. It is gratifying to know that no other Norwegian colony in America has had the misfortune of suffering a similar calamity.

XIII.

Ole Rynning.

Before discussing the formation of the next settlement, I will now describe the careers of some of the immigrants who came in the year 1837. The most important ones are unquestionably Ole Rynning and the two brothers, Ole Knudson Nattestad and Ansten Knudson Nattestad. Ole Rynning became particularly conspicuous and influential on account of a book which he published in Christiania, Norway, in 1838, the title of which is "Sandfærdig Beretning om Amerika til Oplysning og Nytte, for Bonde og Menigmand forfattet af en norsk, som kom derover i Juni Maaned 1837;" that is "A truthful account of America for the instruction and help of the peasant and commoner, written by a Norwegian, who came there in the month of June, 1837." The author's name is given at the end of the preface, where we read: "Illinois, February 13, 1838. Ole Rynning."

This little book of only thirty-nine pages is now exceedingly scarce, and for the copy now in my hands I am indebted to Rev. B. J. Muus of Norway, Goodhue county, Minnesota. Ryn-

ning's book was widely read everywhere in Norway, and was regarded as a reliable document. It made its lamented author one of the chief fathers of Norwegian immigration, second in importance, I should say, only to Kleng Peerson. On account of his valuable service through his little book I have taken pains to gather the facts of his career as carefully as possible. The Reverend Bernt J. Muus, mentioned above, is his nephew, Ole Rynning being the brother of Rev. Muus' mother, and he has kindly sent me the following brief sketch, which may be regarded as entirely authentic:

"Ole Rynning was born on the farm Dusgaard in Ringsaker, where his father was at that time resident curate, that is, clergyman employed under the incumbent, on the 4th of April, 1809. His parents were Jens Rynning and wife, Severine Cathrine Steen. In 1825 he moved with his parents to Snaasen (in Trondhjem Stift), where his father had been appointed minister of the parish. Ole passed the matriculation examination at the university in 1829, and returned to Snaasen, Christmas eve, 1833. Here he kept a private school for advanced scholars until he emigrated to America on the 2d of March, 1837, and settled at Beaver Creek, about ten miles south of Lake Michigan in Illi-

nois, North America. The climate was very unhealthy and he died here from malarial fever, one year and a half after his landing in America. He was not married. A woman, Mrs. Davidson, at whose house he made his home the most of the time, related that when Ole died all the people in the settlement were sick but one. This one went out on the prairie and chopped down an oak and made a sort of coffin of it. His brother helped him to get the dead body into the coffin and then they hauled it out on the prairie and buried it. Ole is said to have made a journey to Fox River and to have worked on the canal there. Thither, too, all* the survivors at Beaver Creek went after Ole Rynning's death."

In regard to the cause of Ole Rynning's emigration, Rev. B. J. Muus expresses himself as follows:

"I do not know it (the cause) positively, but what I have been able to learn from the family is, that his parents, and particularly his mother, desired that Ole should study theology. He had no taste for it. On the other hand he had made a contract with my father, who lived on the farm joining the parsonage, to buy from him a large marsh, which he was going to culti-

* Nearly all, but not all as has been shown above.—R. B. A.

vate. He was to have this marsh and two small farms belonging to cottagers for 400 dollars (Norwegian money). As he was unable to raise this money he went to America.

"He was fond of making himself hardy. He did not, for instance, wear socks in the winter, and he would cut a hole in the ice and take a bath. He trained his scholars in racing, bathing, swimming and other exercises.

"I do not know the date of his death and do not know how to get it."

Mr. Muus rejects the idea that Ole Rynning emigrated on account of any dissatisfaction with the condition of things in Norway, and his opinion must be accepted. We may therefore say that he came to America to ameliorate his own position. He left a marsh farm, which he found himself unable to pay for, and being a well informed man it is easy to see that he looked for better prospects in the western hemisphere. All agree in describing Ole Rynning as a noble-minded, philanthropic man, and Mons Aadland said that it was a great loss to the Beaver Creek colony when Ole Rynning died.

It is entirely certain that Rynning had no share in promoting the exodus of 1837. That must be credited to the sloopers, to the letters

written by Gjert Hovland and to the visit of Knud Anderson Slogvig. Rynning had seen an advertisement of the proposed departure of "Ægir" and had corresponded with the owner of the vessel and so secured a passage. He loved Norway and made no secret of his intention to visit his native land again. Of his devotion to Norway there is ample evidence in a poem which he wrote on board the "Ægir," and which was sung at a little celebration on the 4th of July. I give this poem in the original as the oldest piece of poetry extant, so far as I know, written by a Norwegian immigrant to America in this century.

"Nu ligger Norges Klippeland
Saa dybt i Skjul bag salten Vove,
Men Længslen higer til den Strand
Med gamle, dunkle Egeskove,
Hvor Graners Sus og Jöklers Drön
Er Harmoni for Norges Sön.
Men om end Skjæbnen böd ham der,
Som fordum Björn af Leif, at tjelde,
Hans vil dog stedse have kjær
Sit gode gamle Norges Fjelde,
Og længes ömt med sönlig Hu
At se sit elskte Hjem endnu."

This poem shows that Rynning loved Norway with a genuine loyalty. That he gained the confidence of his fellow travelers is shown by the fact that he was one of the four chosen to

go to Beaver Creek to inspect the land there. That he also became thoroughly devoted to America is fully demonstrated by the book which he wrote while at Beaver Creek and which was sold in thousands of copies in Norway. Ansten Nattestad, of whom we shall have more to say presently, speaks of him in the following complimentary terms:

"When sickness and trouble visited the colonists (at Beaver Creek) he was always ready to comfort the sorrowing and to aid those in distress so far as it lay in his power to do so. Nothing could shake his faith in the idea that America would become a place of refuge for the masses of Europe who toiled under the burdens of poverty. He himself was contented with little, and bore his suffering with patience. I well remember one time when he returned from a long exploring expedition. A heavy frost had set in during his absence, and the ice on the swamps cut holes in his boots. He finally reached the colony, but his feet were frozen and lacerated. His feet presented a terrible sight and we all thought he would be a cripple for life. He had to take to his bed, and while thus confined he wrote his book about America, the manuscript of which I took with me to Norway and had it printed in Christiania. As soon as

he had written a chapter he read it to me and to others and got our opinions and criticisms. His feet got well again, and he once more took up his benevolent work among the colonists. But in the fall of 1838 he was taken sick and died soon after, and his death caused the greatest sorrow to all of us."

Long after the Beaver Creek settlement had been abandoned by the Norwegians, Frenchmen, Germans and Americans made a settlement there. They drained the marshes and plowed the fields where the Norwegians were buried. I understand Beaver Creek is now a prosperous settlement, but there is not a man or woman who can point out the grave of our lamented Ole Rynning.

In Rynning's book I find this preface: "Dear countrymen, peasants and artisans! I have now been in America eight months and in that time I have had an opportunity of finding out much in regard to which I in vain sought information before I left Norway. I then felt how disagreeable it is for those who wish to emigrate to America, to be in want of a reliable and tolerably complete account of the country. I also learned how great is the ignorance of the people, and what false and ridiculous reports were accepted as full truth. In this little book

it has, therefore, been my aim to answer every question which I asked myself, and to clear up every point in regard to which I observed that people were ignorant, and to disprove false reports which have come to my ears partly before I left Norway and partly after my arrival here.

"I hope, dear reader, that you may not find any point in regard to which you may desire information, neglected or imperfectly treated.

"Illinois, Feb. 13, 1838."

The book is divided into thirteen chapters, answering the following questions:

1. In what direction is America situated and how far is it thither?

2. How did this land become known?

3. What is the nature of this country and what is the reason why so many people go there and expect to make a living there?

4. Is it not to be feared that the land will soon be over populated? Is it true that the government there is going to prohibit immigration?

5. In what part of the land have the Norwegians settled? Which is the most convenient and cheapest route to them?

6. What is the nature of the country where the Norwegians have settled? What is the

price of land? What is the price of cattle and of the necessaries of life? How high are the wages?

7. What kind of religion is there in America? Is there any sort of order and government in the land or is everybody permitted to do as he pleases?

8. What provision is there for the education of children and for the care of the poor?

9. What language is spoken in America and is it difficult to learn?

10. Is there danger of disease in America? Is there reason to fear wild animals or the Indians?

11. What kind of people should be advised to emigrate to America? Advice against unreasonable expectations.

12. What dangers may be expected on the ocean? Is it true that those who are taken to America are sold as slaves?

13. Advice to those who wish to go to America. How they are to get a vessel; how they are to exchange their money; what season and route is the most convenient; what things should be taken along on the journey.

These questions will be seen to be to the point and they are all answered in a most intelligent manner. Some of the questions may

seem silly, but it is a fact that in those days many plain people in Norway believed that the emigrants ran the risk of being sold into slavery to the Turks, of being killed by the Indians or of being devoured by horrible monsters of sea and land.

In the second chapter Rynning devotes a paragraph to the Norse discovery of America in the tenth century by Leif Erikson, and he appears to be well up in the literature of that subject. What a pity that his Beaver Creek settlement should have a fate so much like that of the ancient Vinland the Good! In chapter five of his book, where he speaks of Norwegian settlements, he describes the Beaver Creek settlement as containing eleven or twelve families.

I would like to translate Rynning's whole little book of forty pages, but it would injure the proportions of this volume. I will, however, reproduce chapter seven, in which the author discusses the religion and government of America. Here it is:

"It was a common opinion among the lay people in Norway, that there is in America nothing but pure heathendom or something still worse, that there is no religion. This is not the case. Here everyone is allowed to have

his own faith and worship God in the manner that seems to him right, but he must not persecute anybody, because he has another faith. The government here assumes that a compulsory belief is no belief at all, and that it will be most evident who has religion or not, if there is perfect religious liberty.

"The *Christian religion* is the prevailing one in America; but on account of the self-conceit and obstinacy in opinion of the teachers of religion in little things, there are a multitude of sects, which, however, agree in the essentials. Thus we are here told about Catholics, Protestants, Lutherans, Calvinists, Presbyterians, Baptists, Quakers, Methodists, and many others. Among the Norwegians, too, there are various sects, but they have no ministers or churches as yet. Every man who is somewhat in earnest in his profession has devotional exercises at home in his own house, or worships together with his neighbors.

"I have already stated that the United States has no king. Nevertheless it has a person who exercises about as much authority as a king. This person is chosen for four years only and is called *president*. The legislative power in matters pertaining to the United States as a unity rests with *congress*, which is composed

of men chosen by the various states. The various states have each its own government like Norway and Sweden, but the common congress, the common language, and the common financial system unite them more closely. The number of the United States is now twenty-seven.

"As a comfort to the timid, I can truthfully assert, that here, as in Norway, there are laws, governments and authority. But everything is here calculated to maintain the natural equality and liberty of man. In regard to liberty everybody is free to engage in any kind of honest occupation and to go wherever he chooses without a passport and without being examined by custom house officers. Only the real criminal is threatened with the law and punishment.

"In works written only for the purpose of finding something for which the authors can find fault with America, I have read that the American is faithless, deceitful, hard-hearted, etc. I will not undertake to deny that such people are to be found in America as well as elsewhere, and that the stranger never can be too prudent; but it has been my experience that the American as a rule is a better man to get on with than the Norwegian, more yield-

ing, more accommodating and more reliable in all things. The oldest Norwegians here have given me the same assurance. It being so easy to get a living here in an honest way, stealing and burglary are almost unheard of.*

"In ugly contrast with the above liberty and equality which justly constitute the pride of the Americans, is the disgraceful *slave-traffic*, which is still tolerated and carried on in the southern states. We find here a race of black people, with woolly hair on their heads, that are called *negroes*, and that have been brought here from Africa, which is their original country. In the southern states these poor people are bought and sold like other property and are driven to work with a whip like horses or oxen. If a master whips his slave to death, or in his rage shoots him dead, he is not looked upon as a murderer. The children born by a negress are by birth slaves even if a white man is the father. In Missouri the slave-trade is still permitted, but in Indiana, Illinois and Wisconsin territory it is strictly forbidden and the institution is despised. The northern states endeavor at every congress to get the slave-trade abolished in the southern states; but as the latter always make resistance, and

* Who would dare to make this statement in 1895? R. B. A.

claim the right to settle the matters pertaining to their states themselves, there will probably soon come either a separation between the northern and southern states or bloody civil conflicts."

As this was written twenty-two years before the breaking out of the rebellion, Rynning's words are most remarkable and give evidence of his intelligence and sagacity.

Enough has been quoted to show that Mr. Rynning was in full sympathy with American institutions as he found them, and he did not hesitate to advise those of his countrymen who desired to better their circumstances to emigrate to America. As stated above, Ansten Nattestad took the manuscript with him to Norway and had it printed there, but the author probably never saw a copy of the book which was destined to have so great influence upon emigration from Norway during the following years.

Ansten Nattestad also took with him to Norway the manuscript of a journal kept by his brother, Ole Nattestad. This was printed in Drammen the same year, 1838, but it has not been my fortune to ever see a copy of Nattestad's book. In an interview published on page 94 in *Billed Magazin* (Madison, Wis.,

1869), Mr. Nattestad makes the following somewhat startling statement:

"In the spring of 1838 I went from Illinois (Beaver Creek) by way of New Orleans to Liverpool in England, and thence to Norway, to visit friends and acquaintances in my native land. I brought with me letters from nearly all the earlier Norwegian emigrants whom I had met, and in this way information about America was scattered far and wide in Norway. My brother's journal was published in Drammen, and Ole Rynning's work on matters in the new world appeared at the same time in Christiania. Of this book (that is, Rynning's) I brought the manuscript with me from America. The Rev. Mr. Kragh in Eidsvold read the proofs, *and left out the chapter* about the Norwegian clergymen who therein were accused of intolerance in religious matters and of inactivity in questions concerning the betterment of the condition of the people in temporal affairs and in questions concerning the advancement of education."

I fully accept the statement of Rev. B. J. Muus as final that such considerations were not among the causes which led Ole Rynning to emigrate, but from what I have quoted from Rynning's book it is clear that he preferred

American institutions to the Norwegian (always excepting the slavery institution in the south), and I have no reason to doubt the above statement of Ansten Nattestad, with whom I was personally acquainted and whom I knew to be a man of truth and veracity.

I have heretofore shown that as in the case of the Huguenots, the Puritans and the followers of William Penn, the early Norwegians left Norway to get away from religious intolerance and persecution. This is certainly true of the Quakers, the Haugians and of the dissenters generally. It is impossible to point out the motives and causes in each individual case, but it is our duty to find, if possible, the motives that governed the movement as a whole. When we consider that the sloop people and the emigrants of 1836 came from Stavanger county, where the soil is poor and the struggle for existence is a severe one, it is easy to jump to the conclusion that the main object of the emigrants was to ameliorate their condition and prospects in the new world, but on a closer inspection we find that a very large number of those emigrants were dissenters in some form or other, and when we came to talk with them and also with later emigrants we found that religion and oppression on the

part of the office-holding class did have much influence in leading them to depart from their native country. As has been well said by a writer in *Scandinavia* in 1884, "peculiar religious opinions were often one of the motives, especially for the leaders; for even if there were no direct persecutions, there was not full liberty at home. For a number of individuals, special personal motives played a part."

Rynning's book cleared away much of the ignorance in Norway in regard to America, and it helped the emigrants to fight their battles with the higher classes, especially the officials of church and state, who were very much opposed to emigration. I have mentioned the expunging of the chapter on the clergy from Rynning's book by the Rev. Mr. Kragh to emphasize the fact that Ole Rynning looked upon the early Norwegian emigration to America in the same light as that in which I am constantly presenting it.

XIV.

Other Pioneers of 1837.

A prominent man of those who came to America in the ship "Enigheden" in 1837 is Hans Valder (Vælde) now residing at Newburg, Minnesota. He was born on the farm Vælde in Vats Parish, Stavanger Amt, Norway, the 18th of October, 1813. His father was at that time sergeant in the third Ryfylke company, and stationed in Christiansand. Hans was educated as a farmer and itinerant schoolmaster, and for several years he taught school in his native country. He told me that he taught school in Tysver, the parish whence came Kleng Peerson and several of the sloop people. He also met my father in Norway. He had a splendid opportunity of getting informed in regard to America through letters received from this country. At the age of 24 he emigrated with his wife and one child to America. He left the other immigrants at Detroit, and from there went with Osten Espeland, from Hjelmeland in Norway, by rail to Adrian, Mich. From Adrian they went three miles into the country in Lenawee county to

Ingebret Larson Narvig, the same man who had settled in Monroe county in 1833 and who was now there. The Espelands lived with Mr. Narvig for a time, but later moved to the Fox River settlement. Osten Espeland is dead years ago, but his widow married again and is still living. Ingebret Larson Narvig also had two brothers living in this settlement in Lenawee county, and in addition to those mentioned there was only one other, viz., Jochum Hervig. They lived in a Quaker settlement, and this corroborates my former statement that Narvig was a Quaker from Norway. Jochum Hervig afterwards lived with a doctor in Indiana, and Mr. Valder informs me that he died there. As Engebret Larson Narvig was occupying his second home in Michigan, when Mr. Valder came there in 1837, it is Mr. Valder's opinion that he had lived in Michigan three or four years and hence must have immigrated in 1833 or 1834. The fact is, as I have already shown, that I. L. Narvig came to America in 1831, then went west with Kleng Peerson in 1833, and settled in Monroe county, and a couple of years later moved to Lenawee county.

The slooper, Thorstein Olson Bjaadland, and these three brothers Narvig were, so far as I

have been able to find, the first Norwegians to stop in Michigan where their countrymen now number about 12,000, not counting grandchildren. The little Lenawee settlement became entirely Americanized, and has been well-nigh forgotten, since it received no Norwegian accretions.

The following May, 1838, Valder continued his migration to Mission, La Salle county, where he says he found about fifteen Norwegian families settled. He resided in Illinois until 1853, when he moved to Newburg, Minnesota, and became one of the very first Norwegian settlers of that state. He writes me that four families came from Indian Creek and four from the Fox River settlement and located in Newburg at the same time. I asked Mr. Valder whether he could inform me who was the first Norwegian settler in Minnesota, but his only answer was, that on his way to Newburg he found three young men in a log cabin in Spring Grove, viz., Hakon Narveson, Knud Kjeline and Fingar Fingarson, and at Blackhammer near by he found Torkel Rosaaen and some people from Sogn, who had log shanties there. How long they had lived there he does not know. Meanwhile it appears that Mr. Tosten Johnson, who still lives

at Blackhammer, Houston county, and who has frequently represented his neighbors in both branches of the legislature of Minnesota, came to the state with his brother from Dane county, Wis., in 1852. This volume does not concern Minnesota, but I mention this matter in connection with the life of Mr. Valder, and 1852 is probably a safe year to accept for the first actual settlement of Norwegians in Minnesota, where they and the children of the first generation now number about 200,000.

Since Valder came to Newburg his occupation has been farming and hotel keeping. In 1871 he was a member of the lower house of the state legislature. He has been married three times and has sixteen children, and in 1892 he had more than one hundred and fifty descendants living in six different states. His son has a flourishing normal and commercial school in Decorah, Iowa. When I visited Hans Valder in the autumn of 1894 I found the octogenarian well and active, a fine specimen of a pioneer.

In the ship "Enigheden" came also Christopher Danielson from Aarland in Stavanger county, Norway. He was born in 1780, and came to America with his family. He went at once to Mission township, La Salle county,

where he bought a farm. His first wife died in Norway and his second wife died two or three years after their arrival in La Salle county. Christopher Danielson died of cholera in 1849. The only child living is Christopher, who now resides at Sheridan, Ill., and is in prosperous circumstances. He was a small boy when he came in "Enigheden," and is still in the bloom of manhood. I am under great obligations to him for many valuable letters concerning the early immigrants.

Nils Fröland came in "Ægir." He was from Bergen Stift, and he with his wife and children lived for two years in Beaver Creek, and then came on to La Salle county, where they lived one year in Mission and then located in Miller in 1840, where he died in the spring of 1873. His son is a substantial farmer. On my visit to La Salle county in August, 1894, I called on Mr. Johnson, a prosperous farmer near Norway, who is married to a daughter of Nils Fröland. At their house I found Nils Fröland's widow, Anna, still living. She was then 95 years old, being born March 24, 1798, but she could still remember my father whom she met in Chicago in 1837. The old lady was inclined to blame him to some extent for the misfortunes of the Beaver Creek colony.

One of the passengers in "Enigheden" was Ole Thompson (Torbjörnson) Eide, who came from the same farm as Knud Olson Eide, that is, from the island Fogn, near Stavanger. He was born May 27, 1820. He had only ten cents left when he reached La Salle county. He was industrious and frugal, and has acquired a competency for his old age. His first wife died and he is now living with his second wife, whose name is Caroline. In the early days of the Fox River settlement he and my father husked corn together for the Pitzers in the town of Rutland. His portrait appears in this volume.

In connection with the "Ægir," N. P. Langeland, a school teacher from Samnanger, Norway, was mentioned. When the party got as far as Detroit his money had given out, and there were no less than eight in the family. Some of his friends had promised to help him through to Chicago, but I suppose they did not have any funds to spare. Langeland consequently was obliged to stop in Detroit. He was a competent carpenter and blacksmith, and he soon found a turner to employ him. In this way he supported his family and saved some money which he invested in a farm in Lapeer county, Michigan. He died in Michi-

gan many years ago, but in 1887 a son of his was living in San Francisco, California.

Mons Aadland from Samnanger came in the "Ægir." He was a man of some means, but he lost nearly all he had in Beaver Creek. He was the last one to abandon that marshy and malarial settlement. He went to Racine county, Wis., in 1840. He died there many years ago, but three of his children are still living, two sons, Knud and Thomas, who own large farms in Racine county, and a daughter Martha, who married the Lutheran minister, Rev. A. C. Preus, who succeeded Rev. Dietrichson on Koshkonong in Wisconsin, and later returned to Norway, where he died. The widow, Mrs. Preus, is still living at Horten in Norway. I shall discuss the Aadland family more fully when I come to Muskego.

A brother of Mons Aadland was the well-known and very competent journalist, Knud Langland, who came to America in 1843 and settled in Racine county. He was born in Samnanger, Norway, October 27, 1813, and died in Milwaukee, Wis., February 8, 1888. He edited for some time "Nordlyset," which was published in the Muskego settlement (Norway, Racine county), and which was started

in 1847, and was the first newspaper published in the Norwegian language in this country. The first publishers were Messrs. Even Heg and James D. Reymert, the latter being the editor. In 1849 Knud Langland and O. J. Hatlestad, the brother of Mrs. Langland, bought the paper, moved it to Racine, Wis., and Langeland became the editor. Soon after they changed the name to "Demokraten," but even under its new name it did not flourish more than about half a year, when it was suspended. Mr. Langeland served a term in the Wisconsin assembly in 1860, and was a presidential elector in 1880. His great reputation was won as the first editor of "Skandinaven," which was established in Chicago in 1866. For many years he conducted that paper with signal ability. When he became too old for editorial work he retired to his farm in Racine county, and there produced a volume in the Norwegian language on "The Norwegians in America." It is a valuable work and has proved very serviceable to me in connection with the volume I now have in hand. By his death I lost one of my most intimate friends, one to whom I am greatly indebted for many valuable favors. He sent his book to me in Copenhagen, but when my letter

of acknowledgment reached his old home he was laid away in the churchyard. After coming to America Knud Langland (in Norwegian, Langeland) married Miss Anna, daughter of Jens Olson Hattlestad. She was born in the Skjold Parish in Norway, January 12, 1830, and she is still living with her son, Peter Langland, who is a successful physician in Milwaukee. When I last visited Mrs. Langland in December, 1894, she was as well and bright and cheerful as ever. Knud Langland's children now living are Peter, the physician mentioned above, Frank, living in Milwaukee, James, living in Chicago, and Mrs. Malinda Brimble, also in Chicago.

Knud Langland's sister was Mrs. Magdalena Nordvig, her husband's name being the Anders Nordvig mentioned above. Two of her children survive her—Mrs. Iver Lawson, the mother of Victor Fremont Lawson, and Mrs. Sarah Darnell, of Sandwich, Ill.

Among the emigrants of this year (1837) I find Thomas A Thompson. He was born February 3, 1812, at Aareg, Skjold Parish, Norway, and died in Adams county, Iowa, October 15, 1870. On April 1, 1848, he married Carrie J. Melland, from Etne, and she is still living at Strand,

Adams county, Iowa. Mr. Thompson first settled at Norway, Ill., where he bought a farm. In those early days the settlers broke up only small patches on their land and raised a little wheat and garden truck. When the time for marketing came, ten neighbors would sometimes club together, load one or two wagons, hitch two or three yoke of oxen to each wagon, and then start for Chicago to sell their produce and purchase as economically as possible the necessaries of life. On coming near Chicago, they would sometimes have to hitch five or six yokes of oxen to a single wagon in order to pull it through the mud, for which Chicago was noted. In the Fox River settlement that city was then known as "the Chicago mire." In course of time home markets were established and the overland trips to Chicago were abandoned. In 1877, Thomas A. Thompson moved to Adams county, Iowa, where he died as stated above. He was a Lutheran when he emigrated, but joined the Methodist church in this country. Mrs. Malinda Nelson, now living in Strand, Adams county, Iowa, came in the same ship ("Enigheden") with Thomas A. Thompson. The story of her life throws a flood of light on the early days of Norwegian immigration; and while it contains some rep-

etitions of what I have stated elsewhere, I cannot help giving the substance of her statements here. Her maiden name was Malinda Danielson. She was born in Aurdal, Norway, September 29, 1827. She emigrated with her parents. Her father's name was Knud Danielson, and her mother's maiden name was Sara Olson. Mrs. Malinda Nelson says the vessel "Enigheden" was eleven weeks and three days on the way from Stavanger to New York. We have already made the acquaintance of many of the passengers in "Enigheden." Among them are Hans Valder, Ole Thompson Eide, Knud Olson Eide, Christopher Danielson and others, and we have seen how they made their way up the Hudson to Albany, thence by canal to Rochester, N. Y., where they stopped several days, thence to Buffalo, and then on by the lakes to Chicago. As soon as they arrived in Chicago, Malinda Nelson says they sent one man to the Fox River settlement to engage some people to take the immigrants to Norway, Ill. Two men engaged for that purpose were Helge Vatname and Samuel Peerson, who yoked their oxen to their "Hoosier wagon" and started for Chicago, and in about ten days' time these newcomers were

thus brought to their destination. It will be observed that in Helge Vatname and Samuel Peerson, we have secured the names of two immigrants who came to America before 1837. Malinda's parents settled in the town of Mission near what is now Norway, Ill. They had a little money and invested it in a small farm at $1.25 per acre. They had not been there very long before they received a visit from Kleng Peerson, and through his influence Malinda secured a place to work in Ottawa, Ill. Kleng Peerson, who had secured the position beforehand, accompanied Malinda to Ottawa and they walked all the way, it being about fifteen miles. I mention this fact here as evidence of Kleng Peerson's helpfulness to his countrymen. It is also interesting to note that Malinda was only about eleven years old, when she had to leave her parents and go out to earn her own living. She continued to be a servant girl until she was seventeen years old, that is until 1844, when she married Peter Nelson Ovrabö, who had emigrated from Fister, in Hjelmeland in 1839. Hans Valder was at that time, it seems, a Baptist preacher in Illinois, and he performed the marriage ceremony. After they were married they settled in the town of Freedom, La Salle county,

Ill., where they purchased a little farm. In the early days of their married life their financial circumstances were not enviable. They had no stove, and Malinda did her cooking and baking over a hole in the ground. This hole had a stone wall around it and over it she hung her kettles and prepared food for the family, during the first six months of her housekeeping. In the fall of 1844, Peter yoked up his ox team and he and his young wife drove in to Chicago and bought a stove.

In 1849, we again get the sad story of the cholera. Malinda's father, Knud, had died in 1838, and her mother had married Christopher Danielson. The cholera in 1849 carried off her step-father, her mother, two brothers and a working man, all of whom died within a few days in one house. In 1878, Peter Nelson and his wife moved to Adams county, Iowa, where he died in January, 1892. Malinda and six of her eleven children are still living.

In 1837, three families from Tin in Upper Thelemarken, joined the Fox River settlement. They did not come either in "Ægir" or in "Enigheden," but went by way of Skien, and probably Gothenborg to New York. How they got information about America is

nowhere stated, but the fact that they went directly to the Fox River settlement is evidence that they had been in communication with the earlier emigrants from Stavanger.

One of the leaders of this little company, who led the van of the emigrants from Thelemarken, was Erik Gauteson Midboen. He had a large family and settled in La Salle county, but fortune does not appear to have smiled on him. He became a Mormon, and in the capacity of a Mormon preacher, he made a visit to Norway and died soon after his return to America.

A second one of the party, Thor Kittelson Svimbil, who was also the head of a family when he left Norway, died as a farmer in Blue Mounds, Wis.

The third married man in this company, was John Nelson Rue, who in 1869 was living on a farm in Winneshiek county, Iowa, and probably died there. An unmarried man who joined these three families of emigrants, was Torsten Ingebrigtson Gulliksrud, who died years ago in Illinois.

An unmarried brother of Erik Midboen, so far as I can make out, and one of these emigrants from Thelemarken in 1837, was Gunder Gauteson Midboen. He had been a school

teacher in the Tin Parish in Thelemarken, and being a moderately well educated man, it is fair to assume that he was one of the leaders. He lived in the Fox River settlement from 1837 until 1842, and then moved to the Muskego settlement in Wisconsin, where we find him living as a prosperous farmer and owning about 200 acres of land in 1869.

An anonymous Thelemarkian sums up the causes of emigration from that part of Norway in the following words addressed to Prof. Svein Nilsson: "You ask me for the causes of the considerable emigration from Thelemarken which began in 1837, and was continued the succeeding years. In order to answer this question in a satisfactory manner it is, in my opinion, necessary to go far back to the beginning of the century, when two wealthy men, Bernt Blair of Brevig, and Didrik Cappelen of Skien, became the owners of vast tracts of land in Upper Thelemarken. Even a large number of those who were presumed to own their farms had sold their timber and made such contracts that they practically were mere tenants. Stock raising, the most natural industry of this part of the country, was neglected. The same is true of agriculture, and the majority of the peasants had no

other income than the scant pay they could get for cutting timber and bringing it to the market. Thus many people were dependent on a couple of wealthy men, and when for some reason or other, logging was suspended there was much want and suffering. This was the condition down to the time of the beginning of emigration, and doubtless for some time afterwards. Frequent lack of employment, impoverishment, debt and dissatisfaction were the visible manifestations of this condition. But it was a golden epoch for money-lenders, attorneys and sheriffs. Then the America fever began to rage, and many crossed the sea hoping to find a spot of ground where they could live in peace and enjoy the fruits of their labors without being annoyed by the thoughts of pay-day, rents and foreclosures.

"In Lower Thelemarken it was the hard work or corvie on the estates of Mr. Lövenskjold, which drove people from the fatherland, while in the upper districts, it was a process of impoverishment developed through a long period of years and the uncertainty of a living, which induced people to emigrate. When the way was opened many followed without any other motive than that of joining friends and relatives in America."

Hans Barlien emigrated from Norway in 1837. He was born in Overhalden, lived for a time in Trondhjem, then in Christiania and then at Ovengaarden, Namsdaleidet, in the Beitstaden parish. He was a representative of the ideas of the French revolution and had many friends who were called Barlians. He had some literary talent and was also a skillful mechanic, and had many admirers, while the official class naturally opposed a man advocating the doctrines of the French revolution. At Overgaarden, Barlien had his own press, and his published utterances frequently involved him in litigation, but he usually came out acquitted, owing to his brilliant defense. Tired of being persecuted in Norway, he resolved to emigrate to America in 1837, and from here he carried on an extensive correspondence with his friends in Norway. American institutions appear to have suited him. In one letter he wrote: "Now at last I am able to breathe freely. Here no one is persecuted on account of his religious belief. Every one is permitted to worship God in the manner that agrees with his conscience. Pickpockets or lawyers, unscrupulous creditors, corrupt officials and vagabonds have here lost all power to injure the people. Every

occupation is free, and every one reaps the fruits of his industry and by a wise legislation the American citizen is secure against oppression. The so-called free constitution of Norway has hitherto served only to oppress the people with higher taxes, to increase the emoluments of officials, and to promote luxury and idleness. The results of all this will soon appear, and such a condition must necessarily lead to general ruin."

His letters were full of hatred to Norway. They were copied and read by a large number of people, but there were not many who had implicit faith in the reports of the old agitator, and the America fever did not make its appearance in that part of Trondhjem Stift, before some time after Ole Rynning's book had been published.

Where Hans Barlien spent his first years in America, I am unable to say. I take it that he went directly to the Fox River settlement. Whether he went to Shelby county, in Missouri, I do not know, but I think it very probable. He became one of the first settlers in the Sugar Creek settlement near Keokuk, Iowa, and died there at an advanced age in the year 1842.

Among those who came to America in 1837, we must not forget Ole Heier and his wife,

from Tin in Thelemarken. They located in La Salle county, Ill., but moved to Iowa in 1868, where Ole Heier, who was born July 4, 1812, died November 16, 1893. Ole Heier had been a Haugian in Norway, but in this country he first became a Mormon and afterwards a Baptist. His name in Norway was Ole Olson Omdal. Six of his children are living, four sons and two daughters. One of his sons is A. Hayer, of the firm Hayer & Thompson, general merchandise in Leland, Ill. Christian Hayer also lives in Illinois, while Ole and Benjamine reside in Iowa.

XV.

The Fourth Norwegian Settlement.

The *fourth* Norwegian settlement in America and the first in Wisconsin, was founded by Ole Knudson Nattestad (changed in America to Natesta), who was accordingly the first Norwegian to set foot on Wisconsin soil. He came to Clinton, Rock county, Wisconsin, July 1, 1838, and this was the beginning of the so-called Jefferson Prairie settlement, which occupies the southeast corner of Rock county,

and extends into Boone county, Ill. I have already had occasion to mention Ole Knudson Nattestad and his brother Ansten Knudson Nattestad among the promotors of Norwegian emigration. They came from Vægli, Rolloug Parish in Numedal in 1837, but were not passengers either in "Enigheden" or in "Ægir." They came by way of Gothenborg, and Fall River, Mass.

In 1869, interviews with Knud and Ansten Nattestad were written down by Prof. Svein Nilsson and published in "Billed-Magazin," and as their interviews shed a flood of light upon the beginnings and causes of emigration from Numedal and Thelemarken in 1837, and the following years, I take the liberty of reproducing the major part of them here. I will first introduce Ole Knudson Nattestad, who was born in Vægli, Rolloug Parish, Numedal, December 24, 1807, and died in Clinton, Rock county, Wisconsin, May 28, 1886. In 1869, he said:

"As the next oldest of three brothers, I did not have the right of primogeniture to my father's farm, which according to law and custom would go to the oldest son. My ambition was to become a farmer, and I hoped some day to be able to buy a farm in my own neighbor-

hood. Then my brother entered the military school in Christiania and I was to manage the farm in his absence. I entered upon my task cheerfully, worked with all my might, and kept a careful account of income and disbursements. To my great surprise I soon found out, that in spite of all my toil and prudence, I did not make much headway. When the year was ended I had little or nothing left as a reward for my labor, and it was clear to me that it would not do to buy an expensive farm and run in debt for it. Farming did not pay in the locality where I was born. I then tried the occupation of an itinerant merchant. I could earn a little in this way, but the laws were against me and I did not like to carry on a business of such a nature, that it was necessary to keep my affairs secret from the lendsmand (under-sheriff). Then I worked a while as a blacksmith. This furnished me enough to do, but it was difficult to collect the money I earned. The law did not permit me to work at my trade in a city. Then (1836) my younger brother, Ansten, and I went across the mountains to the western part of Norway to buy sheep, which we intended to sell again. While we were stopping in the vicinity of Stavanger, we heard much talk about a coun-

try which was called America. This was the first time we heard this word. We saw letters written by Norwegians who were living in America, and we were told that Knud Slogvig, who many years before that had emigrated in a sloop (Restaurationen) from Stavanger had lately visited his native land, and had given so favorable reports about America that about 150 emigrants from Stavanger Amt and from Hardanger had gone back with him and had sailed that very summer (1836) in two brigs from Stavanger across the ocean. They had gone in spite of all sorts of threats and warnings about slavery, death and disease. This was the first large exodus after the emigration of the sloop party in 1825. All that we here saw and heard was so new, and came to us so unexpectedly, that we were not at once able to arrange all the reports into a systematic whole and thus get a correct idea of conditions in the new world. But when I spent the following Christmas with Even Nubbru, who was a member of the Storthing from Sigdal, we discussed the hard times in my native valley, and I suggested that I might have better luck in some other part of the country. In replying, Even Nubbru remarked that wherever I went in the world, I would nowhere

find a people who had as good laws as the Americans. He had accidentally just had the opportunity of reading something about America in a German newspaper, and he admired the free institutions of America. This information had a magic effect on me, as I looked upon it as an injustice that the laws of Norway should forbid me to trade, and not allow me to get my living by honest work as a mechanic, wherever I desired to locate. I had confidence in the judgment of the member of the Storthing and I compared his remarks with what I had heard about America in the vicinity of Stavanger. Gradually I got to thinking of emigration, and while considering the matter on my way home, the idea matured into a resolution. My brother Ansten did not need to be asked a second time. He was willing at once; he approved of my plans, and in April, 1837, we were ready for our journey. When we left home we had together about 800 dollars, Norwegian money, but this sum gradually grew less on account of our expenses on the way, and besides we lost considerable in changing our money into American coin. Ansten also paid the passage for Halsten Halvorson Brække-Eiet, who now (1869)

resides in Dodgeville, and is looked upon as an excellent blacksmith.

"Our equipment consisted in the clothes we wore, a pair of skees and a knapsack. People looked at us with wonder and intimated that we must have lost our senses. They suggested that we had better hang ourselves in the first tree in order to avoid a worse fate. We went on skees across the mountains from Rolloug to Tin, and thence in a direct line over hills and through forests to Stavanger, where we expected to get passage across the sea. We did not worry about the roads, for all three of us were experts on skees and our baggage caused us no inconvenience. In Stavanger we told everybody that we were going to America and wanted to secure a passage across the sea. This open-heartedness came near spoiling our plans. The report of the three mountaineers soon spread over the whole city, and high government officials came to see our passports. We were now told that the bailiff's passport only permitted us to go to Stavanger, while the certificate from the pastor correctly stated that we intended to leave the country and emigrate to America. We were not posted in such things and thought our papers were in order, especially as the

documents we carried gave testimony that we were men of good habits and Christian conduct. No suspicious remarks were made, but in the evening there came a man who was angry on account of the wrong the officials were going to do us, and related that it had been resolved that we were to be arrested the following day and then be sent from lendsman to lendsman to our native valley, as we intended to leave the country without permission being given in the passport from the bailiff. The government here, he said, was in a bitter rage against all emigration, and we could not count on any mercy. On this man's advice we departed secretly from Stavanger under cover of night in order to avoid the danger that threatened us, and without attracting any attention, we got to Tananger. Here we met a skipper, who with his yacht, loaded with herring, was ready to sail to Gothenborg. He promised to take us on board, but when we told him what had happened to us in Stavanger, he became doubtful. He praised our honesty, and on our assurance that we would assume all responsibility, if he got into trouble, he decided to accept us as passengers. We acted discreetly while we were ashore, and we felt greatly relieved when we finally got

to sea. In Gothenborg we had no mishaps, and we secured passage in a vessel loaded with Swedish iron and bound for Fall River, Mass. The journey lasted 32 days, and we paid $50 each for transportation and board. From Fall River, we went to New York, where we met a few Norwegians, who helped us to get to Rochester. Here we talked with some of our countrymen, who twelve years before had come in the Sloop from Stavanger, and that brought the first Norwegian immigrants to America. Rochester and vicinity did not meet our expectations in regard to the new world. Many of the first immigrants had left the first settlement in Kendall and had gone west to find new homes, particularly to La Salle county, Ill., near Ottawa on the Fox river. The Fox River colony received a very considerable increment by the great exodus from Stavanger in 1836, that is, the year before I came to America. The most of these immigrants had located in that settlement. This we learned in Rochester, and there we heard for the first time the name Chicago. We determined to go west and see what we could find. When we had reached Detroit, I was walking in the streets to look at the town. There I accidentally met a man, by whose

clothes I could see that he was from the western coast of Norway. I greeted the man and he returned my greeting, and the meeting was like that of two brothers who had not seen each other for years. He informed me that he had left Bergen some months before, together with about 70 (should be 84) passengers, and that the whole company of which the university graduate, Ole Rynning, was the leader, had been waiting a week for transportation to Chicago. We were glad to meet our countrymen and we joined the party in which there was at least one (Rynning) who could speak English. On landing in Chicago we met Björn Anderson Kvelve from the Stavanger country. He had come to America the year before (1836), and had traveled through various parts of Illinois, but all that he had heard and seen had only served to make him dissatisfied with this side of the ocean. Broken down in soul and body, he stood before us as a victim of misery and produced a scene so terrible that it never will be blotted from my memory. 'God bless and comfort you,' said he, 'there is neither work nor land nor food to be had, and by all means do not go to Fox River; there you will all die from malarial fever.' These words had a terrible effect on our little flock, many of whom

had already lost all courage. Like demons from the lower world all the evil warnings about the terrors that awaited the emigrants to America were now called to mind, and even the bravest were as by magic stricken by a panic which bordered on insanity. The women wrung their hands in despair and uttered terrible shrieks of woe. Some of the men sat immovable like statues, with all the marks of profound despair in their faces, while others made threats against those whom they regarded as the promoters of emigration and the leaders of the party. But in this critical situation, Ole Rynning's greatness appeared. He stood in the midst of the people who were ready for mutiny; he comforted those in despair, and gave advice to those who doubted and hesitated, and reproved those who were obstinate. He was not in doubt for a moment, and his equanimity, courage and noble self-sacrifice for the weal of others, had a quieting influence on the minds of all. The storm abated, and the dissatisfaction gave place to an unanimous confidence. A couple of Americans, with whom Rynning talked, advised him to take the immigrants to Beaver Creek directly south of Chicago in Iroquois county."

It seems to me that in the story told above

about my father and the succeeding scene, either Mr. Ole Nattestad, or the scribe Prof. Svein Nilsson, must have been drawing somewhat upon his imagination. The facts as I have them from my mother, from Mons Aadland and even from Ole Nattestad himself, do not warrant the painting of so weird a picture. All the prose there is in the romance is that my father met these people in Chicago and was unwilling to recommend the Fox River settlement, with which he was not pleased, and as is easily seen, he had no hand in recommending the immigrants to go to Beaver Creek.

On page 234 in *Billed Magazin*, where Prof. Svein Nilsson gives an extended account of my father and mother, he again alludes to the Beaver Creek affair in these words:

"Ole Rynning's company met Björn Anderson in Chicago. The unfavorable description he gave of the land both west and north frightened the immigrants from locating near any of the existing Norwegian colonies, and this resulted in the founding of the Beaver Creek settlement, whose sad story is well known to the Scandinavian population in the Northwest. In this connection, bitter reproaches have been directed against Björn Anderson,

he being in a great measure blamed for the fatalities of Beaver Creek. But it is usually the case that people like to seek in others the cause of their misfortunes. This is true of the individual as well as of corporations and societies, and perhaps still more so in the case of the immigrants visited by adversity. At all events it is our conviction, and we owe to justice the remark, that the criticism on Björn Anderson has been too severe, if not utterly unfounded."

I omit the part of Ole Nattestad's interview which relates to the unfortunate Beaver Creek episode, as I have already given a full account of the settlement, and resume his narrative with the spring of 1838.

"In the spring of 1838, my brother Ansten went to Norway, and I worked by the day in the northern part of Illinois.

"The first of July, 1838, I came to my present home in about the middle of the town of Clinton, Rock county, Wisconsin, where I bought land, and I am consequently the first Norwegian to settle in this state. So far as I know no other Norwegian had planted his feet on Wisconsin soil before me. For a whole year I saw no countryman, but lived alone, without friend, family or companion. Eight Amer-

icans had settled in the town before me, but they lived about as isolated as I did. I found the soil very fertile and the monotony of the prairie was relieved by the small bunches of trees. Deer and other game were abundant. The horrid howl of the prairie-wolf disturbed my sleep, until habit armed my ears against annoyances of this sort. The following summer (1839) I built a little log hut, and in this residence I received in September a number of people from my own parish in Norway. They had come as immigrants with my brother Ansten. The most of these settled on Jefferson Prairie, and in this way the settlement got a large population in a comparatively short time."

In 1840, Ole Nattestad married Lena Hiser, who died September 15, 1888. She left seven children all in good circumstances and well educated. Henry, the youngest son, now occupies the old homestead.

We now pass to Ansten Knudson Nattestad, the brother of Ole, and will also let him tell the story in his own words translated from the same source (Svein Nilsson in *Billed Magazin*).

"In the spring of 1838 I went by way of New Orleans to Liverpool and thence to Norway,

to visit friends and acquaintances in my native land."

The part concerning the manuscripts of his brother's journal and Ole Rynning's book has already been told (pp. 207--216).

"I spent the winter in Numedal. The report of my return spread like wildfire through the land, and an incredible number of people came to see me and to get news from America. Many came as far as 20 Norwegian (140 English) miles to have a talk with me. It was impossible to answer all the letters I received asking questions about the condition of things on the other side of the ocean. In the spring of 1839, about 100 persons from Numedal stood ready to go with me across the sea. Among these were many farmers and heads of families, all excepting the children, able-bodied persons in their best years. Besides these there were a number from Thelemarken and from Numedal, who were unable to join me, as our ship was full. We went from Drammen direct to New York. It was the first time the inhabitants of Drammen saw an emigrant ship.* Each person paid $33.50 for his passage. We were nine weeks on the sea,

* The name of the ship was "Emelia" and the captain's name was Ankerson.

the passage was a successful one, and there was no death on board. From New York we took the common route up the country. In Milwaukee we met those from Tin in Thelemarken, and the others, who were unable to come in our ship across the sea.* They came on board to us and wanted us to go with them to Muskego. Men had been out there to inspect the country and they reported that the grass was so high that it reached up to their shoulders, and told of many other glorious things. The Americans, too, used every argument to pursuade us to stop in Milwaukee. I objected, and we continued our journey. In Chicago, I learned that my brother Ole had settled in Wisconsin during my absence in Norway. Some of the party went to the Fox River settlement, where they had acquaintances** while some unmarried persons found employment in Chicago and vicinity. The rest of them, that is to say, the majority accompanied me to Jefferson Prairie. Among these there were a few who settled in the town of Rock Run, Stephenson county, in the northern

* They had gone to Skien, thence to Gothenborg, thence to Boston, and had already reached Milwaukee.

** Three families had emigrated from Thelemarken to La Salle county, in 1837—see p. 232.

part of Illinois, about fifty miles west from Jefferson Prairie, and there they formed the nucleus of a Norwegian settlement. Others of my company went to Rock Prairie (Luther Valley), a few miles west of Jefferson Prairie. I and the rest came at once to Jefferson Prairie where we bought land and began to cultivate it. Among those who came here with me at that time I will name Thore Helgeson Kirkejord, his brother Thorstein, Erik Skavlem, and the brothers Kittel and Christopher Nyhuus, all from Numedal. These are all still in the settlement and have become thrifty farmers."

Here follows a severe criticism of conditions in Norway, but as it is of the same character as that already quoted from Ole Nattestad it is not necessary to repeat it.

"In 1840 a few came here from Numedal, and from that time the number of the settlers steadily increased chiefly by new arrivals from Norway. The most of those from Numedal settled in the northern part of the colony, for we who came after my brother, who was here before any of us, bought land near the place where he had built his cabin, and those from the same part of Norway who came later as immigrants and who sought us out in the far

west, settled as our neighbors. I and the first Numedalians chose this tract as our home, and our choice was made immediately after our arrival. The same autumn (1839) a company from Voss came to the settlement. These Vossings went further south, and as birds of a feather usually flock together, so their friends from Voss gradually settled near them. Hence the Jefferson Prairie settlement may as to population be divided into two districts, of which the northern consists chiefly of Numedalians, while the Vossings predominate in the southern part."

Thus was begun and gradually developed the Jefferson Prairie settlement in Wisconsin. Its founder was Ole Knudson Nattestad on July 1, 1838. I count it as the fourth Norwegian settlement in America and the first in the state of Wisconsin. The settlement embraces the south half of the town of Clinton, which is the southeast corner of Rock county and extends across the state line into the town of Manchester in Boone county, Ill. It was stated that a part of Ansten Nattestad's company went to Rock Prairie the same year, 1839. The Rock Prairie settlement consists properly of the towns of Plymouth, Newark, Avon and Spring Valley in the southwestern corner of

Rock county, and is usually mentioned as a distinct Norwegian settlement, particularly on account of its having had from an early period a separate congregation and church. Besides the Jefferson and Rock Prairie settlements are actually separated from one another by settlers of other nationalities, but it will be noticed that the Jefferson Prairie settlement quickly and easily ramified into all directions, and inasmuch as Jefferson Prairie and Rock Prairie are in the same county I have taken the liberty of considering them as one. In this first settlement I also include those families that went to Rock Run in Stephenson county. In those days people might be separated by many miles and still be considered neighbors. The Fox River settlement in La Salle county very quickly extended branches into Kendall, Lee and other neighboring counties, where the Norwegian settlements became known under separate names, but of this fact I take no note in this volume. I trust my friends and readers at Rock Run and on Rock Prairie will not feel slighted because I have included them with the Jefferson Prairie settlement. It raises their rank. For, as I have considered them, they now rank with the fourth settlement in America and the first in Wisconsin, while, were

I to treat them separately, they would both rank after the Muskego settlement in Racine county, Wis.

Ole K. Nattestad (Natesta) was born December 24, 1807; died May 28, 1886. His wife died September 15, 1888.

Ansten K. Nattestad (Natesta) was born August 26, 1813; died April 8, 1889.

It was a wealthy man by name Klemet Stabek, who in company with others, first settled in Rock Run, Ill. From here and Jefferson and Rock Prairies the Norwegians spread west to the Pecatonica river and to Mineral Point. The majority of the first settlers in all these places came from Numedal, and in 1843, while they were visited by Johan Reinert Reierson, about 200 of them united in addressing a letter to Bishop Sörensen in Norway and asking him to send them a capable and pious young preacher. In this letter they offered a salary of $300 a year, a parsonage with 80 acres of land attached and extra pay for all special services, baptism, marriage, etc. More than two hundred persons of both sexes signed their names to this agreement.

I cannot leave the Jefferson Prairie settlement without mentioning some other parties who came there in 1839.

Jens Guldbrandson Myhre was born in Vægli, Numedal, in 1812. In April, 1839, he and his brother Gudbrand emigrated by way of Gothenborg and came in a German vessel to Newport, Rhode Island, where they arrived after a voyage of six weeks and five days. From Newport they proceeded to New York and thence to Chicago, which took two weeks. In Chicago they heard of a man from Thelemarken, by name Halstein Halvorson, who was living twenty-two miles west of there. They set out on foot and found Halstein working for a man by name Downing. Halstein had been in America two years, having arrived in 1837. He was of course one of those who had left Thelemarken in company with Gunder and Erik Gauteson Midboen, Thor Kittelson Svimbil and John Nelson Rue. After stopping at Downing's a few days Jens and Gulbrand Myhre continued their journey to Jefferson Prairie, where they soon found employment at seventy-five cents a day. Later on they went into well-digging, for which they received fifty cents a foot.

At Christmas, 1839, Jens Myhre married Bergit Nelson Kalrud, also from Vægli in Numedal. She had come from Norway the same year in the ship "Emelia," which came direct

from Drammen to New York, and which was commanded by Capt. Ankerson. This is the vessel in which Ansten Nattestad and his company came to America in 1839. Mrs. Myhre says this ship was nine weeks on the way across the ocean. As there were too many passengers on board Capt. Ankerson had to resort to a strategy. Just before arriving in New York he had some of the passengers put on sailors' clothes, and in this way he avoided all trouble with the custom house officers. Capt. Ankerson accompanied the immigrants as far as to Buffalo.

Gulbrand Myhre married Ambjör Olson from Vægli, Numedal, in 1840, and then both Jens and Gulbrand bought farms on Jefferson Prairie. They soon sold these farms, however, and moved to Rock Prairie, and after some years they also sold their Rock Prairie farms and moved to Mitchell county in Iowa, settling near St. Ansgar, a town founded by Rev. C. L. Clausen, of whom we shall hear something later on. Jens and Gulbrand Myhre were among the first Norwegian settlers in Mitchell county, and there they became owners of a considerable amount of land. Gulbrand's wife died there in 1863; his only daughter died in

1867, and he himself died November 15, 1867. Their only son, Gilbert G. Gilbertson, now lives a little south of St. Ansgar.

Jens came to St. Ansgar July 5, 1861, and both he and his wife are still living on their magnificent estate there. Their only daughter is married to Mr. T. M. Tollefson, an intelligent and prosperous farmer near St. Ansgar, while their only son, Gilbert J. Gilbertson, is married, lives with his parents and takes care of the farm.

The first Norwegian settler on Rock Prairie was Gullek O. Gravdahl, and he is said to have been the first white man who began to turn the sod in the Luther Valley settlement. The Indians were then his neighbors, and the wolves gave him a free serenade every night.

Gullek Olson Gravdahl was born on the farm Kjimhus in Vægli, Numedal, September 26, 1802, and died on Rock Prairie, July 17, 1873. He was the son of a peasant in Norway, and in 1839 he emigrated in company with Ansten Nattestad. Coming to Jefferson Prairie, he left his family there and with a couple of comrades went westward until they found the location which became the nucleus of the Rock Prairie settlement. At the end of the first day's travel they found a place that

suited them. They lay down to rest for the night. Their bed was the cold ground and their covering was the star-spangled canopy of heaven. A large spreading oak stood sentinel and watched over those men who were to be the first to fell the giants of the forest and to begin the work of civilizing the wilderness. Soon Gravdahl had his log-house built. Into it he moved his family from Jefferson Prairie, and he was the first Norwegian settler on the west side of Rock river, but it did not take long before the settlement thus founded by him became one of the most flourishing Norwegian settlements in America. Gullek Gravdahl prospered and became a wealthy farmer.

A companion of Gullek O. Gravdahl in the ship "Emelia" from Drammen was Helleik Glaim. He stopped a year in Chicago and then went to Rock Prairie in 1840. After remaining there about a dozen years he removed to Fillmore county, Minnesota, and in 1866 he settled at Hanley Falls, Yellow Medicine county, Minn. He is still living. The restless viking spirit survives in the Norwegian immigrants!

Helleik Glaim was born on the farm Glaim in Vægli, Numedal, February 15, 1816. He informs me that Klemet Stabek, who settled

near Davis, Ill., came in the same ship with him in 1839.

The first Norwegian to be buried in Rock county or in Wisconsin soil, so far as I have been able to learn, was Hans Gjermundson Haugen, who came from Vægli in Numedal in 1840. His wife's name was Sigrid Pedersdatter Valle. Hans Gjermundson was born in 1785 and died on Jefferson Prairie in the latter part of October, 1840. Sigrid was born January 30, 1803, and died in Beloit, January 21, 1885. They had two sons, Gunnul and Gjermund. Gunnel was born in Vægli, April 28, 1827, and died in Canby, Minn., January 1, 1893. Gjermund was born in Vægli, September 19, 1836, and is still living in Beloit, Wis. Of Gunnul it is to be said that he taught the first English school in the town of Primrose, Wis., in the winter of 1849--1850, that he visited Pike's Peak in the year 1854, and that he served in the war of the rebellion, apparently in a Wisconsin regiment.

Gjermund was also a soldier in the war. He recruited a company in Primrose, Dane county, and vicinity, under Pres. Lincoln's call of July, 1864, was assigned to the 43d Wis. Vol., commissioned as captain of company "I," and mus-

tered in the United States service at Camp Washburn in Milwaukee on the 16th of September, 1864. He was immediately sent to Johnsonville, Tenn., where his company remained (after having a fight with Gen. Forest), until the beginning of November, when he was ordered to Nashville, but was cut off by Gen. Hood's forces before reaching the city. He therefore went back to Clarkville on the Cumberland river below Nashville. There he remained until January 1, 1865, when he was sent down to guard the railroad from Murfreesboro to Decherd, Tenn. Here he and his company remained until the close of the war, and he was mustered out of service in Nashville, Tenn., on the 26th of January, 1865. In a letter to me dated March 30, 1895, Gjermund Hanson (Capt. Geo. Jackson) informs me that his father had been in the military service in Norway for seven years, having been mustered out after the treaty of peace between Sweden and Norway in 1815. From Captain Jackson's interesting letter, I make the following extract which throws some light upon his coming to America and on the early settlement of Rock county.

"I will also mention something about our voyage from Norway. We embarked in a sail-

ing vessel at Drammen, leaving there on the 17th of May, 1840, touched at Gothenborg, Sweden, where we took a cargo of iron, remaining there two weeks; and from there to New York it took eleven more weeks. From New York we came by canal to Buffalo, and from there to Milwaukee by steamer. At Milwaukee a part of the passengers went to Muskego, Racine county, among them the Heg family and the Skofstads and a number of others. We all came over on the same vessel. I have forgotten the ship's name, but I remember the captain's name was Ankerson, and that he had made one voyage the year before, this being his second, and that he made several after that to this country.

"In reply to your inquiry about the Norwegians who were in Rock county, when we arrived here, I would say, that I believe there were none on Rock Prairie or on Koshkonong at that time. Ole and his brother, Ansten Knudson Nattestad, Erik Guldbrandson Skavlem, and the two brothers, Jens and Guldbrand Guldbranson Myhre, Kittel and his brother Kristofer Nyhuus, Thore and his brother Thorstein Helgeson, Halvor Pederson Haugen, an uncle of mine, are all I can remember as living there at that time. All these were from Nu-

medal, and came there in 1839, with the exception of Ole Knudson Nattestad, who came to Jefferson Prairie in 1838.

"By way of explanation I will state how we came to take the name of Jackson. Among the passengers across the sea was a man by name Ludvig. He had spent some time in England and was pretty well versed in the English language. He acted as interpreter for the emigrants. He told my father that his name, Hans, translated into English would be Jack, and Hanson, would accordingly be Jackson, and as my name was Gjermund Hanson, it was turned into George Jackson. The whole family adopted the name Jackson.

"I may also mention that the above named Ludvig taught the first English school ever taught in Rock county among the Norwegians there. There were no school districts organized and there were no school-houses. Ludvig taught in private houses, and both the grown people and the children attended school."

Captain Jackson also informs me that in 1849, he with his mother and brother, moved from Jefferson Prairie, to Primrose, Dane county. They were preceded in Primrose by only four Norwegian families. Christian Hendrikson had come there in 1846, from

Wiota, in LaFayette county, Salve Jordanson, Nels Enerson, and Nels Nelson Skogen, came from Jefferson Prairie in 1848. In 1849 several families went to Primrose from Rock county, and among them are mentioned Hon. Gunnuf Tollefson, Knute Bowerson and Ole Tollefson.

As will appear later on, Norwegians had actually settled on Koshkonong at the time when Captain Jackson and his parents arrived at Jefferson Prairie in 1840.

Before we pass to the consideration of the next regular settlement, we must still mention one of the pioneers of emigration by name Ole H. Aasland. He was a rich farmer in Fledsberg Parish, Numedal, and emigrated in 1838. He took with him twenty poor people, for whom he paid the expenses, went to Tönsberg, thence to Gothenborg, and then to New York. After arriving in America, going first to the Kendall settlement, he was induced to buy 600 acres of land in Noble county, Indiana, not very far from Ft. Wayne. But he had fallen into the hands of unscrupulous speculators, who took advantage of his ignorance of American affairs, and he was badly swindled. The land he bought was said to be very poor and swampy. Many of the colonists died.

With the survivors he moved back to Orleans county, N. Y., where he became a well-to-do farmer. Ole H. Aasland changed his name in this country to Ole H. Orsland. Four of his children are still living, viz., Canute and Harry B., living in Kendall, N. Y., Hallock and Jane, residing in Detroit, Mich. In January, 1895, I received a letter from Canute Orsland, who now lives on the old family homestead in Kendall, N. Y., and from it I take the liberty of giving the following extract: "The postmaster handed me your letter, and in reply would say that I am not competent to give you the desired information, but I will do the best I can. There are not many Norwegians left in Kendall now; some have died and some have moved away. My father, Ole H. Orsland, came to America in 1838. He went to Ft. Wayne, Indiana, and purchased 600 acres of land in Noble county. He had paid the passage of some of his countrymen, and they were to work for him and reimburse him. It was sickly there and some of them died and the rest had the fever and ague. My father, therefore, abandoned the land and came back to Kendall and gave his 600 acres of Indiana land to Andrew J. Stangeland, who was born here, but whose father came in the sloop in

1825, for fifty acres of land, which I now occupy." In a letter dated at Kendall, N. Y., February 27, 1895, Canute Orsland informs me that Ole H. Orsland (Aasland) was born in 1795, and died in 1864, at the age of 69 years.

XVI.

The Fifth Norwegian Settlement.

We now pass to the consideration of the *fifth* Norwegian settlement in America, the so-called Muskego settlement in Waukesha and Racine counties, Wisconsin. We have seen how three families and a couple of single men left Tin in Upper Thelemarken in 1837, and how the Nattestad brothers, Ole and Ansten, and Halstein Halvorson Brække-Eiet made up their minds to emigrate from Vægli in Numedal the same year. These two parties apparently entirely independent of each other were the first to leave those parts of Norway and settle in the new world. Then letters came back to Tin, and in this manner information was spread throughout Thelemarken in regard to conditions in America,

and many began to talk about emigration. The following year (1838) Ansten Nattestad returned and spent a year in Norway, and while there he published his brother Ole's book in Drammen, and Ole Rynning's "Account of America" in Christiania. Ansten Nattestad clearly went back for the purpose of organizing a party of emigrants. His case is similar to that of Knud Slogvig, the slooper, who returned to the Stavanger country in 1835, and caused the great exodus from Stavanger in 1836, and Ansten Nattestad's return to Numedal in 1838 created no less excitement and wonderment than Knud Slogvig's had caused in the western part of Norway in 1835. People would not have been more astonished, if a man had actually returned from the moon, and the two books, Ole Nattestad's and Rynning's, particularly the latter, in which a scholarly and graphic account of conditions and prospects in the new world were presented, were quickly spread throughout Norway, and from this time on we may regard regular emigration from various parts of Norway as fully established, though emigrant packets do not appear to have begun to ply regularly until after 1840. Down to 1840, we have only the sloop "Restaurationen" in 1825; the

two Köhler brigs, "Norden" and "Den Norske Klippe" from Stavanger in 1836; "Enigheden" from Egersund and Stavanger, and "Ægir" from Bergen in 1837; and the ship "Emelia" from Drammen, commanded by Captain Ankerson, carrying Ansten Nattestad and his party direct to New York in 1839. The rest of the emigrants down to 1840 seem to have gone by the way of Gothenborg, Hamburg and Havre, as did many after 1840.

The people whom we are now to mention intended to come with Ansten Nattestad and Captain Ankerson in the "Emelia" but there were no accommodations to be had. The vessel was loaded. The result was that the overflow went to Skien. The party who went to Skien consisted of about forty persons from Tin and the neighboring parish Hjertdal in Upper Thelemarken. These forty people were extensively connected by family ties, and the Luraas family were represented by four heads of families embracing about half of the company. There were eleven families in all, eight of them, including the Luraas families, being from Tin and three from Hjertdal. There were also a few unmarried people in the party. The most conspicuous among these people from Thelemarken was John Nelson

Luraas, a man who, until very recently, was still living as a prosperous farmer near Stoughton, Wis. I am happy to be able to give the rest of the story as he told it to Prof. Svein Nilsson. He says:

"I was my father's oldest son, and consequently heir to the Luraas farm. It was regarded as one of the best in that neighborhood, but there was a $1,400 mortgage on it. I had worked for my father until I was twenty-five years old, and had had no opportunity of getting money. It was plain to me, that I would have a hard time of it, if I should take the farm with the debt resting on it, pay a reasonable amount to my brothers and sisters and assume the care of my aged father. I saw to my horror how one farm after the other fell into the hands of the lendsmand and other money-lenders, and this increased my dread of attempting farming. But I got married and had to do something. Then it occurred to me that the best thing might be to emigrate to America. I was encouraged in this purpose by letters from Norwegian settlers in Illinois, written by a Norwegian emigrant who had lived two years in America. Such were the causes that led me to emigrate, and I pre-

sume the rest of our company were actuated by similar motives.

"On May 17, Norway's day of liberty, in the year 1839, the ship left Skien and glided before a stiff breeze out of the Langesund fjord, and soon the great sea was in sight. We soon got out of sight of land, and when the last mountain tops disappeared from above the horizon, some of the passengers doubtless felt sad at heart while thinking of their uncertain future and of the probability that they would never again see that home from which they had taken with them so many dear memories. But the decisive step had been taken, and doubt and hesitation would now be out of place. We continued to make progress, and after a few days of fine sailing, the Norwegian captain landed the passengers in Gothenborg, Sweden, which was his destination. Here we met a few families from Stavanger, about twenty persons in all, who were also bound for America. Both parties united, and an American captain, whose vessel was lying in the harbor and loaded with iron, agreed to carry the emigrants across the sea to Boston for a fare of forty-two dollars, Norwegian money, for each person. There was no acci-

dent on the way, the health of the passengers was good, and after nine weeks we saw land on the other side of the ocean."

From Boston these immigrants proceeded to New York and thence to Buffalo. In Buffalo they met a captain who agreed to carry the immigrants by way of the lakes to Milwaukee. They went on board his miserable vessel, which twice came near being wrecked on the way. A woman was washed overboard, and after three weeks they reached Milwaukee. Here there was some talk among the officials of bringing suit against the captain, who was reproached in severe terms for taking so many people on board a ship that leaked like a sieve and could scarcely hold together. When we consider that this ship was loaded with powder, it must be admitted that the passengers had been in no enviable position.

It was seventeen weeks since they left Skien in Norway, and still they were far from their journey's end. They intended to go by way of Chicago to the Fox River settlement in Illinois. But this plan was abandoned, and our new-comers were persuaded to remain in Wisconsin. In regard to this change of purpose a strange little story is current. I give it for what it is worth, partly to relieve somewhat

the dullness of my pages and partly because it is believed by many people. While I do not care to discredit it, I have not, on the other hand, been able to get any conclusive evidence that the episode ever occurred. Here it is:

The day after our immigrants had arrived in Milwaukee, they were getting ready to depart for Chicago. Then some Milwaukee people came on board the vessel. They asked the new-comers what they intended to do in America. The answer came, that they were farmers and desired to buy land, and were thinking of going to Illinois. "Go where you like," said one of the visitors. "This is a free country, but if you want to do that which is best for yourselves, then take my advice." Then he presented two persons, one of whom was a large fat man, the picture of health, while the other was a mere skeleton, all emaciated from disease. "Look here," said the Milwaukeean, "this fat man is from Wisconsin, where there is a healthy climate and an abundance of food; this invalid is from Illinois, where people are burnt up by a scorching heat and where they die like flies from malarial fever. Now choose as you think best."

It was a hot day in August, and the burning rays of the sun added weight to the man's

words and arguments. Our new-comers were perspiring in their thick woolen clothes, and they thought with dread of the heat in Illinois, where they would soon be changed into skeletons like that emaciated fellow who stood by the side of the healthy and vigorous man from Wisconsin.

The result was that these immigrants went ashore in Milwaukee, a city which was then in its infancy. It is claimed that the fat man exhibited to the Norwegians was the well known Mr. Walker, after whom the present south side of the city was for a long time called Walker's Point.

Our immigrants having been persuaded to shorten their journey and remain in Wisconsin, their American friends advised them to locate on the shores of Lake Muskego in the present Waukesha county. A committee of the immigrants were appointed to go with an American to look at the land, which could be bought for $1.25 per acre. The summer weather had dried up the marshes, and the Norwegians took the large swamps covered with tall grass to be prairies. There was plenty of timber, and the waters were filled with fish. The emissaries liked the land, and

made a favorable report to their comrades in Milwaukee. The result was that nearly the whole company abandoned their purpose of going to the Fox River settlement in Illinois, and settled around the north end of Muskego lake. They at once began to clear their farms, but when the fall rains came the most of the land was flooded. It was clear that they had made a poor choice, but still our settlers continued to live on their farms, and they were afterwards joined by others both from Tin and from Illinois. The settlement grew and it became the stopping place for many of the later immigrants, who would remain in Muskego a year or two before going out to other settlements in Wisconsin. But in the years 1849, 1850 and 1852, cholera visited the settlement and caused such a mortality that the location came into disrepute. The most of those who were spared by the cholera epidemic, emigrated to other settlements.

From a conversation with Mr. Hans J. Jacobson, assistant sergeant-at-arms of the Wisconsin state senate in 1895, I learn that the following Norwegians are now living in Muskego, Waukesha county: 1. Gunnerius P. Ducleth; 2. Ole Larson; 3. Rolf Rolfson Flaten. He also informs me that the following

reside in the town of Vernon, west of Muskego: 1. Kittel Lohner; 2. Gunnul Knutson Morem; 3. Thomas Throndson; 4. Andreas Halvorson; 5. Anna Kjonaas, the widow of Ole Kjonaas. Both Ole Kjonaas and his wife came with the Luraas party in 1839. John Jacobson Einong, who came from Tin, Thelemarken in 1843, lived and died in Vernon. He had four daughters. One of these married Col. Hans Heg, another married John Evenson Molee, and is the mother of Elias J. Molee, a third married the well known publisher and journalist, Elias Stangeland, and the fourth married Hans Tveito. A son of John Jacobson Einong lives in Fillmore county, Minnesota.

In the History of Waukesha County, by Frank A. Flower, I find the following sad report of our Muskego settlement: "What was called the Norwegian settlement began in the south part of the town in 1839, and grew rapidly until some of the newly arriving immigrants brought the cholera in 1849. Terrible and indescribable scenes followed the breaking out of this fearful scourge, as the poor and ignorant people did not know how to diet or abate its ravages in the least. A hospital was finally established on the shores of Big

Muskego lake, in a large barn, where scores of the poor people died. This plague broke out here again in 1851, and raged with frightful violence and fatality. A log house near the town line in Noway was then an improvised hospital, and graves were dug and kept open for expected corpses. The plague resulted in so many deaths, and carried such terror into the community, that all but a few of the surviving Norwegian families left the town."

The fate of this Muskego settlement most forcibly reminds us of the unhappy Beaver Creek settlement in 1837.

John Nelson Luraas, the leader of the party from Tin, very soon left Muskego and bought a farm in Norway, Racine county. This farm he improved considerably, and then sold it to Even H. Heg, and Luraas himself removed to Dane county, Wisconsin. This John Nelson Luraas, who deserves prominence as one of the principal founders of the Muskego settlement, was born in Tin in Thelemarken, December 25, 1813. He landed in New York, September 8, 1839, and as stated, remained in Muskego until 1843. On June 16th, 1843, he arrived in the town of Dunkirk, Dane county, and in October, 1868, he removed to a farm

in Webster county, Iowa, about ten miles north of Fort Dodge, where he remained until the fall of 1873, when he returned to his farm in Dane county. In the fall of 1886, he removed to Stoughton, where he died May 29, 1890. He was married in Norway, April 8, 1839, to Miss Anna Olson Berg. John Nelson Luraas was an intelligent, enterprising man, and he accumulated a considerable amount of wealth. I was several times a guest at his hospitable home near Stoughton.

In the spring of 1840, Sören Bache and Johannes Johannesen, men of means and intelligence who had come from Drammen, Norway, the preceding year, 1839, and spent the winter in the Fox River settlement in Illinois, arrived in the town of Norway in Racine county, directly south of Muskego. Norway became the nucleus of the new settlement, which extended into several towns of Racine county, and the whole settlement has since been known as Muskego, although the original settlement in Muskego became practically abandoned.

Bache and Johannesen came for the purpose of selecting a home for themselves and for others who intended to emigrate to America from the vicinity of Drammen in Norway.

The cluster of beautiful lakes, the clear streams of living water, swarming with fish and game, which they found in the town of Norway, satisfied their desires. A cabin was built in one of the Indian mounds on the banks of Wind lake, reports of the country were sent to their friends across the sea, and in the fall of 1840, a large party of emigrants arrived at Milwaukee, destined for the town of Norway. This party consisted of Even H. Heg, his wife and four children, Syvert Ingebretson, Ole Hoganson, Ole Anderson, Helge Thompson, Johannes Skofstad and others, all of whom settled in the same vicinity. Sören Bache having considerable capital, he with his partners, Even H. Heg and Johannes Johannesen, purchased a large tract of land in the town of Norway. They afterwards sold a part of their lands to immigrants who came later.

Johannes Johannesen being a man in whom the Norwegians reposed great confidence, a large number of the immigrants that landed at Milwaukee in the forties first came to what was known as Heg's farm, where they would remain for weeks consulting about which part of the country was the best to locate in. Many now living in Wisconsin, Iowa and Minnesota well remember the old barn that shel-

tered so many of them for a while in those early days when houses were scarce. In this, Heg's barn, Rev. C. L. Clausen preached to the Norwegians in this settlement in 1843, and in this barn he organized a congregation that same year. A Norwegian church was begun in 1843, but was not finished and dedicated before 1845. Rev. C. L. Clausen was a Dane by birth, but he had been a lay preacher in Norway, and soon after his arrival in America he was ordained by a German Lutheran minister. The spot selected for the church and also for the burying ground was covered with a large number of Indian graves, and was considered as appropriate a resting place for the pale-faced Norwegian as it had been for the red savage. The church was built of logs, but large and commodious, on the same ground where the beautiful new church now stands and where lie buried so many of those old pioneers, including Johannes Johannesen, Even H. Heg, his wife, and his son, Col. Hans C. Heg, who was killed in the battle of Chickamauga, during the rebellion.

In the year 1860, the state of Wisconsin ceded to the town of Norway all the swamp lands within the limit of the town, about 2,300 acres. The act provided that the proceeds

should be used for a drainage fund. Only a small portion of this fund has been used as yet, but the money is let out at interest, on good paper, and thus far not a dollar has been lost. The credit of securing this grant to the town is due to the efforts of the Hon. Knud Langland, who at the time represented the second assembly district of Racine county in the state legislature, and who labored zealously for the passage of the bill. The lands are now all or nearly sold and have proved to be of great benefit to the settlers of the town.

For the above facts in regard to the first settlement of Norwegians in Racine county, I am indebted in part to an article published some years ago in a Racine county paper, the article being presumably written by Mr. Ole Heg, a brother of Col. Hans Heg. In a sketch of the Muskego settlement written for *Billed Magazin*, Prof. Svein Nilsson says that Sören Bache and Johannes Johannesen came to Racine county in 1839, having spent only a few weeks in the Fox River settlement, but I have accepted the more probable version that these men spent the whole winter in Illinois and came to Wisconsin in the spring.

A sad accident occurred in the early days of this old settlement, and that is said to be

the chief reason why Sören Bache returned to Norway. He and his friend, Rev. C. L. Clausen, were out hunting one day and stopped at the house of a Norwegian settler. While Sören Bache was making some examination of the trigger his gun accidentally discharged and killed the housewife, whose name was Hege. It made the husband almost distracted and Sören Bache was in danger of losing his reason. He gave Hege's widower forty acres of land and a cow, and did all he could for the poor man, who accepted the gifts, but said "these things do not bring back to me my dear Hege." It is believed that this accident was the main reason why Bache returned to Norway in 1845. He wanted to get away from the scene of his great misfortune.

Even Heg had a considerable amount of money with him, and with that he bought a large tract of land. It was not long before the town of Norway became occupied, and soon the newcomers began to spread into the adjoining towns. Mr. Johannesen died in the colony in 1845, and the same year Bache returned to Norway and settled on a farm, Valle, in Lier, where he is said to have lived until the year 1879, but these two men are to be remembered as the founders of that part of the Mus-

kego settlement, which was located in Racine county, and which became permanent. Even Heg was a most enterprising man. His barn, which is still standing, was generally filled a couple of months each summer with Norwegian emigrants on their way to Koshkonong and other Norwegian settlements in Wisconsin. Even Heg's oldest son was Hans C. Heg, one of the most brilliant names in Norwegian American history. He was elected state prison commissioner in 1859, and in 1861 he organized the 15th regiment, Wisconsin volunteers, consisting almost exclusively of Scandinavians. Hans Christian Heg became its colonel. He was born near Drammen in Norway, December 21, 1829, came to America with his father in 1840, and was fatally wounded in the battle of Chickamauga, on the 19th of September, 1863, and died the next day, September 20.

In a former chapter of this book I gave a full account of Col. Porter C. Olson, largely for the reason that his name had never received any particular attention in the Scandinavian press of this country. Col. Hans C. Heg's name, is, on the other hand, well known, particularly to all Scandinavians. Col. Porter C. Olson's father came to America in the sloop in 1825, while neither Col. Heg nor his father

left Norway before 1840. The latter do not therefore properly belong to the epoch treated in this volume, and thus the reader will readily see why I do not yield to the temptation of giving Col. Heg such a biographical notice as his distinguished and patriotic services deserve.

Even Heg's daughter, Andrea, is to be remembered as one of the first Norwegians to teach English district school in Wisconsin. She taught school in the Muskego settlement during the winter of 1855 and 1856. She afterwards married Dr. Stephen O. Himoe, who taught school in Muskego during the winter of 1851--1852, and who was the surgeon of the fifteenth regiment, Wisconsin volunteers; and after the war she settled with her husband in Kansas and died there. Dr. Himoe is still living in Kansas City, Mo.

Speaking of early Norwegian school teachers in Wisconsin, I am informed by a letter from Mr. H. J. Ellertsen that as early as 1845 a man by name John Tvedt, taught school in Muskego, both Norwegian and English, but this was private school. Then Mr. Ellertsen tells me of a man by name Carl Torgerson, who taught public district school in Muskego in the winter of 1852--1853. He was then a

young man of about 25 summers, and had come from Christiania in Norway, having learned English before coming to America. He was a man of good education. In the summer of 1854 he returned to Norway, and it is presumed that he did not come back to America. Mrs. C. L. Clausen taught Norwegian school in the Muskego settlement during the winter of 1844.

XVII.

The Adland Family.

Among the Norwegians who came to Racine county in 1840, was Mons Adland, he being the last one to abandon the fatal Beaver Creek settlement. Mons Adland (Aadland) was, as has been stated heretofore, an older brother of the journalist, Knud Langland, they taking their names from different farms in Norway. They also had a sister by name Magdalena Nordvig, the wife of Anders Nordvig, who came with her husband in the same vessel with Mons Adland and Ole Rynning, and who also settled in Beaver Creek. Anders Nordvig died in the Beaver Creek settlement,

and his widow moved to the Fox River settlement, where she died about the year 1892, over 90 years old. Her daughter Malinda is the widow of Iver Lawson, who was a prominent Norwegian real estate owner in Chicago, and the mother of Victor F. Lawson, the well known owner of the Chicago *Record* and *News*.

Mons Adland was born April 14, 1793, and died April 25, 1869. He left Bergen, Norway, April 7, 1837, arriving in New York about June 12, and in Chicago about July 12. After stopping in Chicago about a week he went to Beaver Creek.

In a history of old settlers in Racine county, is found the following interesting sketch of Mons Adland and his family:

"Thomas Adland, who resides on section 30, is one of the most prominent citizens of Raymond township, Racine county. His varied business interests have made him widely known, and his honorable dealings in all things have won him the respect and confidence of those with whom he has come in contact. Few men in the community have a larger circle of acquaintances, and we feel assured that this record of his life will be received with interest by many of our readers.

"Mr. Adland was born near Bergen, Norway,

August 12, 1831, and is a son of Mons K. and Ellen (Thompson) Adland. His father was also born and reared in Bergen, and in the public schools of his native country, acquired his education. He grew to manhood upon a farm, and afterwards became owner of a fishing vessel. In 1837, accompanied by his family, he crossed the Atlantic, landed in New York and by way of the lakes went to Chicago, which he found to be a mere hamlet situated in what appeared to be then a swamp.

"Joining a colony, he removed to Iroquois county, Ill., and in the midst of a wild and unsettled region made his home for three years; but the settlement was broken up on account of prevailing sickness—fever and ague, which was very common at that time. By team, Mr. Adland removed to Wisconsin and settled upon a farm on section 30, Raymond township, which is now the home of our subject. The quarter section of land which he had purchased from the government was entirely destitute of improvements, not a furrow having been turned, a single rod of fence built or the work of developing in any way commenced. The first home of the family was a log cabin, and in true pioneer style they spent the first years of their residence in Wisconsin. Mons

Adland came here with nothing but his cattle, yet at his death he had accumulated a fair property, his unremitting labor, his perseverance and enterprise winning him a handsome competence, and ten years before his death, he divided among his children between five and six hundred acres of land. He was a man of generous spirit, as is shown by his liberal gifts, and one who took a commendable interest in public affairs. Both he and his wife were members of the Lutheran church, and in politics he was a republican, after the birth of that party, having previously been a democrat. He resided in the neighborhood of his pioneer home until his death, which occurred in 1869, at the age of seventy-six years. His estimable wife had passed away two years previously. Six of their children grew to mature years, and three are yet living—Knud, a prominent citizen of Raymond township; Thomas, the subject of this sketch; and Martha, who is married and resides in Norway.

"The first six years of Thomas Adland's life were passed in his native land, and he then came with his parents across the briny deep to the United States. Upon new farms in Illinois and Wisconsin he was reared to manhood,

and the hard task of improving unbroken land is not unknown to him.

"His education was acquired in the district schools, and reading and observation in subsequent years have made him a well informed man. At the age of sixteen he began to run a threshing machine, which business he followed for a number of years. He has had charge of the home farm since 1859, and is now the owner of 300 acres of as fine land as can be found in Racine county.

"The Adland homestead is a model farm, supplied with all modern improvements, excellent buildings, the latest machinery and good grades of stock.

"On the 19th of May, 1859, Mr. Adland secured as a companion and helpmate on life's journey Miss Julia Nelson, who was born in Norway, but since two years old has been a resident of Racine county. Nine children grace their union, and the family circle yet remains unbroken. They are as follows: Carrie, Ellen, Peter, Martha, Edwin, Bertha, Lavina, Thomas and Jessie. All of the children were born on the farm, and under the sheltering roof of the old home their childhood days were passed. Good educational advantages have been afforded them, and Carrie and Peter have

both attended school in Racine. The latter was a student in Spencer's Business College of Milwaukee, and now has charge of his father's tile factory.

"Both Mr. and Mrs. Adland are members of the Lutheran church, and to its support he contributes liberally. He cast his first presidential vote in 1852 for John P. Hale, four years later supported Fremont, twice voted for Lincoln and once for Grant. He then cast his ballot in support of Horace Greeley, and since that time has advocated the principles of the democracy, being opposed to high tariff. He has often served in the conventions of his party, both county and state, and is widely known among the prominent democrats of Wisconsin. For three years he has served as chairman of the town board of supervisors; for thirty years he has been connected with the North Cape literary society, and is the present treasurer of the township insurance company. Other business interests have also occupied the attention of Mr. Adland, who has been connected with many of the leading industries of this neighborhood. Five years ago he established a tile factory, which has since been successfully operated. Mr. Adland possesses

superior business and executive ability; his life has been characterized by energy, perseverance and good management, which are essential to success, and his progressive spirit has made him a leader in the community. Over half a century has passed since he became a resident of the county, during which time he has witnessed the greater part of its growth and development, and not a little of its advancement and upbuilding is due to his enterprising efforts. He is accounted not only one of its substantial business men, but is also numbered among the honored pioneers of Racine county, and is well deserving of representation in this volume."

XVIII.

Other Early Settlers in Muskego.

Among those who emigrated from Upper Thelemarken in 1839 and settled in Muskego, we must not forget Nelson Johnson Kaasa. He dropped the farm name Kaasa in this country, and was known as simply Nelson Johnson. He came to America by way of Gothenborg, and went directly to Milwaukee, where he

found work during the first year, and then settled in Muskego. He worked out for $6 per month in the winter, splitting rails, and at $12.50 a month in the summer. In this way he paid for his passage from Norway, and also in part for a farm which he had bought in Muskego.

In 1850 he moved to Iowa and pre-empted a farm in the town of Decorah, Winneshiek county, where he lived until his death in April, 1882, excepting from the fall of 1855 to the fall of 1857, when he was pastor of the Norwegian Methodist Episcopal church at Cambridge, Dane county, Wis. Nelson Johnson preached in all about twenty-five years.

Nelson Johnson was born in Hitterdal Parish, Upper Thelemarken, in the year 1816. In 1843 he married in Racine county, Wis., Miss Anna Nelson Solheim, who came from Voss in 1841. They had seven children, all of whom are living, viz.: John W. Nelson, who lives at Racine, Wis.; Bessie P. (now Mrs. J. E. Cook), residing at Independence, Iowa; Martha A. (now Mrs. J. E. Anderson), residing at Forest City, Iowa; Martin N. (now serving his second term as member of congress for North Dakota), residing at Petersburg, N. D.; Lewis C., an attorney-at-law, now residing at Fargo,

N. D.; Mary H. (now Mrs. P. P. Wilcox), residing at Los Angeles, Cal.; and Salinda F. (now Mrs. Geo. Spofford), residing at Forest City, Iowa. Nelson Johnson died April 14, 1882, and his wife died March 17, 1883. The same year with Nelson Johnson came also his brother, Gjermund Johnson, born in Hitterdal in 1802. He, too, sailed from Gothenborg, but not in the same ship with his brother. He lived in Racine county, Wis., until 1850, when he moved to Iowa and bought land in Glenwood, Winneshiek county. He remained on his farm until the early seventies, when he moved to Decorah and died there in December, 1893, at the ripe age of ninety-one. His wife Ragnhild died there about ten years earlier. They were married in Norway, and had one or two children before they emigrated.

Nelson and Gjermund Johnson were among the pioneers of Winneshiek county, Iowa. The Indians had been removed in 1849, and there were only two small log houses in the now prosperous and famous city of Decorah.

As soon as the number of settlers in Muskego had increased sufficiently, Mr. Bache and Mr. Johannesen started a store there. Their home was, as already stated, in an Indian mound, which they had dug out and sided in-

side with boards, and this strange abode served as bedroom, kitchen, sitting room and store. The most necessary articles of merchandise were bought in Milwaukee and distributed from this mound, which was regarded as the center of the settlement.

In the Muskego settlement also appeared the first Norwegian newspaper published in America. It was called *Nordlyset* (The Northern Light), and made its appearance in 1847. It was started by Even Heg and James D. Reymert, an attorney, who afterwards removed to New York city. Even Heg, being in good financial circumstances, furnished the money. Mr. Reymert became the editor, and Ole Torgerson, a man who came from Sogn in Norway in 1844, and who is still living in Madison, Wisconsin, set the first type. Thus Ole Torgerson may be regarded as the first compositor in a Norwegian printing establishment in America. Reymert, who was an educated young man, who was of Scotch descent on his mother's side, and who had been educated partly in Norway and partly in Scotland, was a Free Soiler, and *Nordlyset* became the Norwegian organ of that party. During the first year it secured about 200 subscribers, but it is said that many of them forgot to pay

for the paper. *Nordlyset* appeared with four pages and four columns on each page. As it was published in the country it could not count on getting many advertisements. *Nordlyset* served its editor a good purpose, in as much as it brought him into political notice. He was a member of the Wisconsin Constitutional Convention in 1847, of the Wisconsin assembly in 1849, of the senate in 1854--1855, and again of the assembly in 1857. He was, so far as I know, the first Norwegian to fill the above named offices in America. Mr. Reymert came from Farsund in Norway, and he married Miss Hanson in Muskego. He was an energetic business man, and in 1852 he completed a plank road in Racine county. At another time we find him running a saw-mill in Saukville, Ozaukee county. I do not know as he was entirely trustworthy. At all events he is charged with mismanaging the property of Sören Bache, which was left in his care. From Muskego Reymert went to Milwaukee and thence to Hudson, where he served as register of the United States land office. From Hudson he went to New York city, where we lose trace of him altogether. I have been told that he left New York for New Mexico or some other part of the far west.

The newspaper *Nordlyset*, of which he was for a short time the editor, was sold in the autumn of 1849 to Knud Langland and O. J. Hatlestad, and moved to Racine, Wis., where its name was changed to *Demokraten*. Its fate in the hands of the new proprietors has been told in connection with the account of its new editor, Knud Langland. (See page 226.)

An old settler in Muskego was Herman Nelson Tufte, from Hallingdal. I mention him particularly on account of his three daughters, who made notable marriages. One of his daughters was married to the far-famed lay preacher, Elling Eielson, a second one to the wealthy merchant in Perry, Dane county, Wis., O. B. Dahle, and the third sister married Mr. Thomas Adland, whose sketch has been given above.

One of the oldest settlers in Muskego was John J. Dale. He was born in Bergen Stift, Norway, in August, 1795, and came to America in the same ship with Ole Rynning in 1837. He first settled in the Fox River settlement, and came to Muskego in 1842, where he died in 1882. Anna, his wife, died in Illinois in 1839.

XIX.

Rev. C. L. Clausen.

The lay preacher, Elling Eielson, came to Muskego in 1840, though he had his headquarters in the Fox River settlement. It is, however, of record that he held a number of gospel meetings in Muskego prior to 1843. In that year the settlement obtained a teacher from Norway in the person of C. L. Clausen, a Dane, who had gone to Norway to seek employment in the missionary field, but was persuaded to go to America as a teacher among the Norwegian immigrants. He came to Muskego, but he soon found that his mission would be more successful as a minister than as a mere schoolmaster, and being found amply qualified for the vocation he was regularly ordained by a German Lutheran minister, and became the pastor of the Muskego congregation. Mr. Clausen arrived in Muskego in August, 1843, and in the latter part of November of the same year a meeting was held, in which it was agreed upon and resolved to build a church the next year. I am aware that there is some

controversy as to when and where the first Norwegian Lutheran congregation was organized. I have seen no documents showing that a congregation was formally organized in Muskego in 1843, but I suppose that the fact that a body of people call a pastor and resolve to build a church implies some kind of organization behind it.

The building of a church, particularly, involves buying land and becoming owners of a church edifice. It also appears that money was invested in a parsonage. I do not care to enter upon any controversy, but I may be permitted to ask when the Muskego congregation was organized, if this was not done in the fall of 1843. At the meeting held in November, 1843, Mr. Clausen stated that he had invitations to preach in settlements further west. These requests he laid before the meeting and said he found it to be his duty to visit the settlements in question, "as he was the only minister among the Norwegians in America," and we know that Mr. Clausen soon after did preach on Koshkonong and at other places. The church register (Ministerialbogen) begins October 21, 1843, and the heading on the first page is "Protocol of baptisms (Daabsprotokol) for the Norwegian Lutheran congregation in

Muskego for 1843 to 1846 inclusive." This, together with the fact that the people resolved to build a church and transact other business, seems to me to be evidence of the existence of an organized congregation, although the members may not have formulated and signed their names to any constitution or expression of religious belief.

Tollef Bache, of Drammen, Norway, contributed four hundred dollars toward the erection of the church, which was built by the late Halvor Nelson Lohner. This old building now belongs to Hans J. Jacobson. He bought it for about $150, and it now does service as a barn. The builder, Halvor Nelson Lohner, came with the Luraas party from Thelemarken in 1839, and died at an advanced age in 1894. He is to be remembered as the first church-builder of the Norwegian immigrants in this century. Lohner also built the parsonage for Rev. C. L. Clausen, and this house also belongs to Hans J. Jacobson and is a part of his residence. After Mr. Clausen had been ordained as a minister, his wife, a most intelligent and noble woman, taught the children of her husband's church free of charge.

Johan Reinert Reiersen, the founder of the first Norwegian settlement in Texas, visited

the Norwegian settlements in America in 1843, and in his book, "Veiviseren" (The Pathfinder), published immediately after his return to Norway, I find this statement in regard to Muskego: "The settlement has organized itself into a congregation and chosen a Danish seminarist, Clausen, who has been ordained by a Lutheran clergyman, as their pastor. He is a very capable and well educated young man, who in a short time has won the respect and confidence of the whole settlement."

Mr. Reierson then gives this quaint bit about Elling Eielson: "Elling Eielson also lives in this locality and has married a Norwegian girl after having previously talked zealously about the sinfulness of marriage. By several doubtful transactions he has wholly lost the confidence he once enjoyed, and is nearly at the end of his career as an apostle." (!) Then Reierson gives this fact: "The teacher in gymnastics (dancing master), Hanson, has also located in this settlement."

XX.

John Evenson Molee.

Before leaving the Muskego settlement I must present to my readers an autobiographic sketch of John Evenson Molee, who came with the Luraas party in 1839. In the preparation of it the aged writer has had the assistance of his son, Elias J. Molee, the well-known language reformer, now of Butler, Day county, South Dakota. His letter will be found to voice the views and sentiments of many of the old emigrants:

Rock Dell, Olmstead Co., Minn.,
Feb. 22, 1895.

Prof. R. B. Anderson,
Madison, Wis.

Dear Sir—

Your letters received. You ask me for reminiscences of my early life; of my journey to the United States, and events of my later years.

I fear your readers will be little interested in my personal story, unless, indeed, they are students of heredity, and are pursuing the new educational line of thought, which aims at finding out the ideas of primitive men and chil-

dren, for purposes of discovering improved methods and subjects of instruction.

you will at once see my northern, democratic, independent viking instincts, when i ask you to be so kind as to leave out all useless capital letters from my communication to you.* i wish also to go on record as a friend of self-explaining, home-grown, saxon-english compounds, instead of the foreign-borrowed, thought-hiding rags of rome; as, "equator," for "mid-line;" "artic," for "north;" "artic ocean" for "north ocean;" "zone" for "belt;" "isthmus" for "neck-land;" "capricorn" for "south sun-line," "peninsula" for "half-island," etc. this would be easy for children and primitive men. i also believe in the easy world's metric system of weights and measures, multiplying and dividing by ten.

As you requested me to give you a synopsis of my life, "such as I have give I unto thee."

I first saw light in 1816 in the district of Tin (Tins-Prestegjeld), Norway, but I do not know on what day in the month, for I lost the record

* Mr. Molee writes without using any capital letters. I am sorry that I am not able to comply with his request, but I print one paragraph as a sample. Except as to capitals I publish Mr. Molee's letter in the somewhat quaint English in which it is written. R. B. A.

when I came to America more than half a century ago.

My father was a large, powerful man, and went by the name of "Strong Even" (Stærk-Even). My paternal grandfather's name was Halvor, after whom my brother was baptized. He owned a farm and a grist-mill in the valley east from the farm he gave to father, and on which we lived. My mother's name was Gunhild Nerison, which means blessing. All my ancestors, as far as I know, have been land owners and tillers of the earth, for land is not monopolized in Norway. They were all very kind to their domestic animals. They housed and fed them, as if they had been their half-brothers. There was a belief common among the people that it was a great sin to be cruel to the dumb brutes, and that they would complain against those who abused them on the day of judgment. Every Christmas day (Juledag), sheaves of barley and oats were placed on the roofs of the barns for the wild birds.

My father's farm ran down to the edge of the river in the valley and back over the meadow and up to the top of a high hill. We children caught fine fish there whenever we wished to do so. This was a great help to our

family, while father was out as a soldier, defending the country against the Swedes.

Fortunately, the war was soon ended by a compromise, Norway retaining her own legislature, and a right to act more freely and independently than if she had been a state in the American union, for she even retained her own tariff. Norway also made her own constitution, and she consented to a union for mutual self-defense with Sweden. Paragraph 112 goes even so far as to take away the king's absolute veto. The title of nobility was also abolished in Norway.

Father and Uncle John came home to us, full of stories of the "war with the Swedes."

After I had learned, in school and at home, to read, sing, and to say from memory my catechism, explanation-book (forklaring), a short Bible history and a few hymns, I was confirmed and admitted as a communicant of the Lutheran church. Our minister was appointed by the state; that is, by the church department of the state, and held the office in the same place during good and bad behavior. The people had at that time no choice in selecting their own pastor.

I remained at home to help father work his land until I was nineteen years old, when I

began to wonder what I should do in the future. I loved the pleasant old homestead, the goose that had laid so many golden eggs for us through many generations, but alas! I was obliged to leave the old nest with no hope of getting a nest of my own near home.

My oldest brother, according to the old law of primogeniture (odels-ret), would take the farm unincumbered, and there was not enough cash or personal property on hand for me and my sisters with which to buy another farm, for we were seven children. I thought often, "O, where shall we younger children go? What will become of us?"

We had no thought of North America then. The labor market was so overstocked that strong young men could hardly obtain work for more than five dollars and clothing a year. I had not been used to be a servant, nor had my dear sisters. Whey my oldest brother, Halvor, marries and gets a family of seven or eight children, there will be no room for us. I can hardly tell how bad I felt for my sisters and myself in the year 1835.

Some curious thoughts flitted through my mind. I began, in a sinful manner, to blame God and my parents for giving us so large a family. When over-population takes place,

thought I, neither a just government nor a good minister can help the people to obtain the comforts of life. Would it not be better to have fewer children, and make each child more efficient by more training? If God had given each family only two or three children, then land and houses would have been cheaper and easier to buy. If each family had only two children, thinks I, in my youthful way, then brother Halvor would have married, and given some neighbor's daughter a pleasant home and taken better care of father and mother. I could then have, in like manner, gone to some other neighbor.

Now, however, there is a terrible waste of life. I dreaded a servant's fate. The professions and trades were also overstocked. A laborer was not allowed to eat at the same table with a land-owner. Labor commenced before sunrise and lasted till after dark—no time for the enrichment of the mind by reading newspapers or good books evenings. Yet it was worse before the French revolution, when my father was a boy.

At the age of nineteen, I gained my parents' consent to go to the western coast of Norway, with a view of becoming a sailor, and roam

upon the free sea, the spacious home of so many brave Northmen.

I packed up all the clothes I could carry. Father gave me pocket money until I could find employment. After bidding farewell, with father, mother and my sisters amid tears and weeping, I started afoot on my journey to the old seamen's city of Stavanger, in 1835, about 150 kilometers distant. This is a good seaport in the southwestern part of Norway.

After inquiring around a short time, I became acquainted with a stock and dairy farmer, by the name of Gitle Danielson, who lived on an island ten kilometers north from the city of Stavanger. The name of the island is Rennesö. This island supports four churches. The main industries consist in fishing, raising cattle, and sending butter and milk to Stavanger. The island is about thirty kilometers long and fifteen wide, and is the largest of the many coast islands here. I remained four years with Gitle Danielson and family, at such wages as were then going. He was one of the kindest men I have met among strangers. As I had frequent chances to row to Stavanger with butter and milk, I enjoyed my work very well.

In 1839, the "America fever," as it was

called, commenced. Gitle Danielson, my master, and his family, were smitten badly by the "America fever;" that is, an intense desire to emigrate to America. Mr. Danielson sold his farm and personal property and made himself ready for the daring undertaking.

When I saw my good master and mistress, Mr. and Mrs. Danielson, and the children, whom I had begun to regard as my own brothers and sisters, making ready to sail to America, I also caught the "America fever" in its most intense form. You may be sure I wanted to go along. I was aching to go, but the passage money was too high for me. I had only a few dollars and three suits of clothes. You can imagine that I asked Mr. Danielson to take me along to America. At first he said that he had a large family to pay for, and that he would like to have some spare money left when he came to the state of Wisconsin, so that he could buy some land and build a house and buy provisions for a year, without being obliged to work out, and thus neglect his own home. He also said that he had not received much for his land and personal property, as prices had been greatly depressed by the government through the influence of the office-holding class and the money-

loaners, and their policy to contract the currency to increase their incomes; that is, make the same incomes relatively more valuable by making the dollar dearer by less currency, and, hence cheaper labor and more goods for the same money, while incomes remained unchanged.

When I heard Mr. Danielson say that he could not take me along to America, I felt so small that I could have hidden myself away in his trunk. I could not sleep the next night, and I often cried bitterly. When I met Mr. and Mrs. Danielson the next morning, they asked me if I was sick for I did not look well. I said I felt very bad because I could not go with them to America. They smiled at what I said, but made no remarks one way or the other.

After an interval of two days, Mr. Gitle Danielson told me that he had talked the matter over with his family and come to the conclusion that he could take me along and pay the passage money if I was willing to agree to work for him two years after I arrived in America. That was just what I wanted. It did not take me longer to make up my mind than it requires to say "*ja.*" I agreed to work for him two years after I arrived in Wisconsin.

Although this was three times more than the amount of the passage money, I would rather do that than remain in the over-crowded old country.

In May we spread the sails, and set out from the good old city of Stavanger in a little herring yacht (silde-jakt) to Gothenborg, in southern Sweden.

I can yet remember the names of the following persons from Stavanger Amt, namely:—

Gitle Danielson, with family.
Halvor Jellarviken, with family
Peder Rosöino, with family.
Erik Svinalie and sister (both single).

When we came to Gothenborg, in Sweden, another ship came there from Drammen, in the southern part of Norway, and brought the following passengers from Tin, which I can remember, namely:—

Ole Hellekson Krokan, with family.
Halvor Lönflok Vinlete, with family.
Torger Ostenson Luraas, with family.
Havor Ostenson Luraas, with family.
John Nilson Luraas, with family.
Knudt Luraas, with family.
Helge Matison, with family.
Osten Möllerflaten, with family.
Nils Johnson (from Hitterdal), with family.

Nils Tollefsjord, single.
Ole Tollefsjord, single.
John Tollefsjord, single.

Both the party from Stavanger and that from Tin in Upper Tellemarken, went on board together into an American sail ship loaded with Swedish iron from Gothenborg to Boston. I cannot remember the name of the ship or the captain. It took us nine weeks and three days to sail from Gothenborg, Sweden, to Boston. We had from Stavanger one Norwegian Quaker on board. I forget his name.

When we entered the commodious harbor of Boston, you may be sure we felt very happy to behold land, after having tumbled about so long on the wide sea. Boston looked familiar to me. There were the same cluster of coast islands before entering the city as at old Stavanger in Norway. In the distance we saw hills and trees, which looks very natural and home-like to a Norwegian or a Swede.

After four days' stay in Boston, we sailed to New York city and up the Hudson river to the entrance of the Erie canal. Here we were offered work if we would stay, but we had all made up our minds to go west to find land on which to settle. A jovial American told our interpreter that we must not go to Buffalo or

we would be sold into slavery. This was the great topic of the day in the United States. Then he said to our interpreter, "Don't let those good people go to Buffalo, for they will certainly be taken south and be turned over to slavery to work side by side with black men, to raise cotton and tobacco. Don't go to Buffalo, for God's sake!"

We could not think of any crime we had committed to deserve such treatment, yet the statement surprised us at first. My master and his family, Gitle Danielson, from Stavanger, had been sick nearly the whole time on the journey, but this slavery joke waked him up, for he had been a great reader. He said, "It can not be true, because Norwegians or Scandinavians in general are not the kind of people of which to make slaves. I have never heard of any Scandinavians ever being slaves to a foreign race. Just think of it. Never at any time since the dawn of history have the Scandinavians been ruled by other than Scandinavians. No other European people have so long a history of self-government. Our great Scandinavian race has besides laid the foundations of two of the mightiest empires on earth. The Norwegians and

Danes laid the foundation of the British, and the Swedes of the Russian empire.

"That we, the sons of the brave and hardy Northmen, can be enslaved alive by an open and visible enemy, is incredible! The slave owners do not want us to go down south, for they know we would talk of freedom and justice to the slaves and in time produce a change of opinion."

At the entrance of the Erie canal, our baggage was transferred onto the canal boat, which was tugged by horses walking along the side of the canal through the state of New York, from the Hudson river to Lake Erie, a distance of 585 kilometers.

Mr. Danielson and his family were very sick on the whole journey, but I believe, although I was not sick, I had as hard time of it as they had, for I had to nurse and care for them all the way from Gothenborg, in Sweden, until we reached our point of destination in Wisconsin.

At Buffalo our baggage was again transferred from the canal boat to a sail ship, which carried us across Lake Erie, Lake Huron and Lake Michigan to the city of Milwaukee, Wis. We arrived at that place in August, but I cannot now remember on what day. We were

not in the habit of keeping a memorandum, which we ought to have done for our own and others' interest. We had been nearly four months on the voyage. O, what a long and tedious journey we had! I should not like to endure such traveling again. On Lake Michigan the wife of Halvor Lönflok Vinlete was drowned. At Milwaukee our interpreter, Mr. Jensen, a Dane, drowned. While rowing in a little boat on the lake the wind turned it over.

At Milwaukee our band of pioneers spread out to different parts of southern Wisconsin. Some went to Muskego, while others went to Yorkville and Jefferson Prairie. For my part I remained between two and three years in Milwaukee.

The first fall and winter I worked in the woods, chopping, teaming, or at any other work I could find to do to earn money to pay Mr. Danielson for the amount he advanced for my passage to America, $47. When I came to settle with him he charged me but little, because I had nursed his sick family on our long journey.

The next spring, 1840, I hired out to run a ferry-boat across the Milwaukee river for Henry Dunbar, who was agent for the county, which owned the ferry. There were too few

rich men at that time to monopolize the means of public conveyance, so the people were compelled to resort to public co-operation through the collective power of the county.

I boarded with Mr. Dunbar, doing such work, mornings and evenings, as was desired by his family or himself. Dunbar tended to his store himself. The next winter after the river froze over, so that I could not run the ferry boat, I started again for the woods with two good axes.

At this time I had learned to talk English very well, hearing no Norwegian in Mr. Dunbar's family. Mr. and Mrs. Dunbar and the children urged me to stay with them through the winter and attend the public school, and to do a little chores for my board. I was, however, so discouraged by the English system of spelling that I was afraid it would take more time to master it than I could spare. I had seen and heard how Dunbar's children worked year after year to learn to spell, a thing which caused no trouble in Norway, where they spell according to sound. If Dunbar's children, thought I, require so much time to learn to spell their own native language, how can a poor foreigner expect to master the mystery of unphonetic spelling? I preferred

chopping to spelling and to reading meaningless stories about cats and dogs. That was nearly all they learned in school then. Not one word was read about how to take care of health, about etiquette, the proper behavior in society, civil government, political economy, logic, theory of education, or singing. Knowledge which was of most value to the children, they had to learn outside of the school room, the best they could, but many never did discover what knowledge they most needed to guide themselves through life, or how to enjoy sweet moments of cheering song in later years.

The following summer I hired out again to run the same ferry boat as in the previous summer for advanced wages, but another man had taken the contract to manage the ferry for the county. His name was William Bentley. He had invested too heavily in lots and land. After the crisis and bank failures of 1837, real estate was so depressed that he could not sell land enough to meet the high interest, and I lost my year's wages, for he went into bankruptcy. Money-loaners took the property.

In 1842 I went to Muskego, where I worked out for Americans to earn money for which to

buy a piece of land. After procuring a piece of land four and a half kilometers west from Reymert's lake or about eighteen kilometers south from Waukesha, Wis., I married Anne Jacobson Einong in 1844, in Even Heg's new home-sawed, oak-frame barn. Another couple was married before the same altar at the same time by Rev. Clausen from Denmark. There was no church then, which I can remember. This was the way Mr. Heg had of dedicating his new barn before he put it to more common use. The boards had been sawed at Reymert's saw-mill, about two or three kilometers north on the east bank of Reymert's lake (Silver lake in Waukesha county).

The other couple, besides Anne and myself, was the muscular giant, Hans Tveito (Twi-to), and my wife's sister, Oslaug.

My wife, Anne, was a good, patient, industrious woman when she was well, but she was not as strong as her sisters, Oslaug Tveito, nor as Cornelia Heg, wife of Colonel Heg of the 15th Wisconsin regiment, nor as strong as Gurina Stangeland, wife of Elias Stangeland, editor of a Norwegian paper in Madison, Wis. She had also two brothers, John and Osten Jacobson Einong.

All the Jacobson girls married noted men,

except my dear Anne, who married me. My wife came over from Tin by way of Drammen, in Norway, in 1843. She had a harder time in crossing the Atlantic than I had. The ship was thirteen weeks in crossing, and fourteen persons died of typhoid fever while sailing over the Atlantic. They were buried in that great ocean. Her own mother, Anne, and her twin sister, Susana, were buried in the sea. My wife was often sorry she came to the wilderness of Wisconsin, for her father had a fine farm and servants in the old country, and could have lived better there. Yet the "America fever" brought them to the west. Her father died a few years after he came to this country, but he gave all his children a small start, which made their life here a little easier than it would otherwise have been. He gave forty acres of land to each, and also a few dollars in money, which he had brought with him from Norway.

As soon as I was married, I built a log house on my land, 4.7 meters long, 4.1 meters wide and 3.5 meters high. This gave us a good room below and a room upstairs for beds and clothing. We had at first only one window toward the east, consisting of twelve window panes. The size of the panes was of the old

regulation, namely, 20 by 25 centimeters, the window being divided into two halves.

The house was small, but my wife and I got along well with it. We would rather have a small house and own it free from debt, than to be the slaves of a money-loaner, which might take away from us both house and land and make us mere renters. That did not agree with our northern ideas of true independence.

The pioneers that came to America before 1840, I believe were the most democratic and self-helping and peaceable that ever came from Europe, excepting only the "Pilgrim fathers" that came over from England in the "Mayflower" in 1620, which, by the way, came from a district in England largely settled by Norsemen.

Historical events work with a reflex power on the feelings of descendants.

While the Romans in the South were forging fetters to enslave mankind, the Scandinavians in the North developed institutions and sentiments to break those fetters. In the old North the kings had to obey the people instead of the people obeying the king. There arose the system of *trial by jury*. Without the influence of the Scandinavians, there would have been

no *Magna Charta* in England, and probably no "*Declaration of Independence*" in America.

In Normandy, in France, the Scandinavians were the cause of the institution of *knighthood*, which soon spread over Europe, to defend woman and the oppressed. The great French writer, Montesquieu, says: "What ought to recommend the Scandinavians to us above all other people is, that they are the source of nearly all the liberty among men." In the "thirty years' war" between Catholics and Protestants, they determined the success of the latter, who were struggling for religious freedom in Germany, and indirectly for religious freedom in other countries. The Scandinavians were also the first to introduce "*courts of conciliation*" without the assistance of lawyers, and Norwegians were the first to abolish the corrupting order of nobility. The Scandinavians have been and will be a leaven of popular rights wherever they settle. If we couple these truths with the fact that they have the largest proportion of the tillers of the soil, instead of crowding into overflowing cities, we can safely say that they are the best immigrants the United States has received, not even excepting the Scotch and Germans.

It would have a very wholesome influence

upon the intellectual life of the United States, if they would study more Anglo Saxon and Icelandic instead of the foreign, time-wasting, arbitrary and useless Latin. We have as grand a mythology in the North, as the Romans in the South. Why go over the river after water? We shall not understand English or Norwegian better by mastering Latin declensions and conjugations. It would be more democratic and useful to master a great modern language, and more permanent, life-guiding science, instead of memorizing the foolish exceptions to Latin nouns and verbs, soon forgotten.

After I had built my log house in 1845, I exchanged work with some of the most dextrous neighbors, who made for me bedsteads, tables, chairs, floor, shingles, sleigh, truck-wagon (from round logs), harrow, bureau, cupboard, loom, spinning-wheel, shoes and clothing. We exchanged produce for store goods. We had Norwegian schools and gave the teacher a certificate ourselves.

We conducted our religious meetings in our own democratic way. We appointed a foreman and he requested some one to read from a book of sermons. This book was our preacher at first. We prayed, exhorted and

sang among ourselves and even baptized our babies ourselves, for we had no regular minister at first, but this want was soon supplied.

In 1849 was the year of the "Asiatic cholera" in the United States and Europe. It was the awfulest summer I have experienced in my life. By this time there were a great number of our people in Muskego. When the epidemic cholera struck our settlement, there were, at one time, only seven families, all well, so that they could get away to help their neighbors. From three to four persons died every day. Hans Tveito and myself had all we could do, to carry the dead out of the houses and haul them to the grave with our oxen, while others dug the graves. No ceremony took place, and there were no glittering coffins with silver knobs and handles. We simply rolled a white sheet around the dead, unwashed and unshaved; and then we placed him or her into a rough board box, unplaned and unpainted, and hauled them to a spot selected for a graveyard, called "the Indian hill" (Indiehaugen); there we laid them to rest. It was the best we could do, God knows. We cared for them the best we could, while living, but when dead, they did not need more care.

I have often thought since, when beholding a husband, wife, father, mother, child or neighbor buried amid great pomp and expense, alas! if some of that good will had been shown to the dead while living and the rest given to the poor, how many hearts would have been made happier, instead of being ruined by vain show.

I shudder when I think of how we had to go into the catching cholera houses to carry out the dead day after day. We expected to be struck down by the fell disease every moment, yet we stood by our post of duty like true soldiers of peace, live or die.

I have not much more to relate, that is, of interest to your readers.

I lived in Muskego until 1855, when I moved to Blue Mounds, Dane county, Wisconsin, 35 kilometers west from Madison. In Blue Mounds, I lived on a farm of 128 acres until 1873, when I again moved to Bloomfield, Fillmore county, Minnesota, where I bought another farm. In 1876 I lost the best friend I had on earth, my beloved wife, Anne. She died of cancer in the right breast at the age of 54. We had a comfortable room for her, and she received all the assistance which I and others could give her, but the disease

proved incurable, so that the best medical aid and nursing proved in vain. After my wife died, I sold my place and went to live with my daughter Anne, who is named after her mother. She is married to Mads Holm, a Dane. Both my daughter and son-in-law, Mrs. and Mr. Holm, are very kind to me, for which I am very thankful. Though I will be eighty years old next spring, I am yet in good health, and enjoy highly to talk with both old and young friends, and hear what is going on around me, especially with regard to religious movements in the Lutheran church. This is, of course, the greatest of all Protestant denominations, and the strongest fort against Catholicism both in America and Europe. There is one thing which recommends this church to me above all others, considered purely from an educational point alone; namely, the confirmation. About the age of 14, all boys and girls have, for the last three hundred years been required, by the Lutheran church, to learn to read, by requiring them to learn their catechism and a number of hymns by heart, and to answer questions from bible history, in order to be confirmed in the church. This could not be done, unless they first learned to read; hence, long before general public schools were

organized, this church alone served as a general teacher of reading and singing. For this reason the Lutheran countries are the most intelligent in the world according to official statistics. Ninety-seven per cent. of the people of such Lutheran countries, as Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Germany, Holland and Switzerland, over twelve years old, can read. The Lutheran church has done the most for religious freedom, but it was also through Lutheran influence that compulsory education was introduced into the world. All Lutheran countries have compulsory education. I believe it will degrade the Scandinavians as a rule, rather than elevate them, to leave this great education and freedom-loving church. It may be possible to add more educational features to it. Every minister might organize more singing societies and literary clubs and introduce more English speaking and more historical lecturing. As soon as possible, let us increase " sweet reasonableness."

I have three children now living; namely, my oldest son, and my present secretary, Elias, was born January 3rd, 1845. Halvor and Anne were born December 7th, 1849. Halvor is only three hours older than Anne.

My dear professor and countryman! In the

beginning of my letter to you, I started in as a northern democratic viking. I should like to give you another piece of old typical Scandinavian sentiment to give to your younger readers; a child-like primitive Scandinavian sentiment, such as I have to give. I believe in the "Monroe doctrine" with my whole nature. It is natural for the great freedom loving Scandinavian people to favor self government among all civilized people. Canada, our enlightened neighbor on the north, is yet under foreign bondage. The queen of England appoints the governor general, and he appoints all the senators, all the judges of the supreme court and all the governors of the provinces; now, if the queen in another part of the world appoints half of the law-making and the whole interpreting power, what is the rest worth to the people, except for false show? If Scandinavian writers have a chance to say a good word for the independence of Canada, I hope they will do so.

Again, let us speak and write against a perpetual bonding of the United States. Let us pay our debts, and after that live within our yearly incomes.

My last word to my children and countrymen is, that I hope they will continue to honor

themselves and Scandinavia by being a sober, industrious, intelligent and moral people.

I shall soon go away to meet my dear Anne! She always appears young to me.

Your well-wishing
JOHN EVENSON MOLEE.

XXI.

The Sixth Norwegian Settlement.

The sixth Norwegian settlement in America and the third to be founded in Wisconsin was the now large and prosperous one in the east half of Dane county. It is the so-called Koshkonong settlement, taking its name from Koshkonong lake, and particularly from Koshkonong creek, and it is still the most widely known as well as the wealthiest rural Norwegian settlement in America.

The first Norwegians located there in the spring and summer of 1840. Those who located there that year were Gunnul Olson Vindeg, Björn Anderson Kvelve (the author's father), Amund Anderson Hornefjeld, Thorstein Olson Bjaadland (one of the sloopers), Lars

Olson Dugstad, Nels Siverson Gilderhus, Nels Larson Bolstad and Anders Finno.

It has generally been supposed that all the Norwegians here mentioned visited Koshkonong for the first time in 1840, but my friend, Nels A. Lee, of Deerfield, Wis., has investigated the subject pretty thoroughly, and he has convinced me that Nels Siverson Gilderhus, Nels Larson Bolstad and a third person, who did not settle there, visited the towns of Christiana and Deerfield somewhat late in the fall of 1839.

Nels A. Lee, himself a Vossing, published in June, 1894, a very interesting article on the early emigration from Voss, Bergens Stift, in Norway. In this article he makes the claim, and I think proves it satisfactorily, that men from Voss were the first to plant their feet on Koshkonong soil, but before discussing this subject any further, I will make a digression and take a look at the early emigration from Voss, and in the presentation of the matter I shall be largely guided by Mr. Lee's article.

Nels Röthe and his wife Torbjör left Voss for America in 1836, and they were the first to emigrate from that part of Norway. They spent a couple of years in Rochester, N. Y., and then moved to Chicago, where, so far as I can

make out, they remained the balance of their lives.

In 1837 Odd J. Himle, Baard Haugen, Kolbein Olson Saue, Stark Olson Saue, Halle Væte, Nils Larson Bolstad, John Haldorson Björgo and Ole Dyvik, emigrated from Voss. Himle and Haugen, and probably also Björgo and Dyvik, went at once to the Fox River settlement, while Kolbein and Stark Saue and Halle Væte went to the unfortunate Beaver Creek settlement, settling in that part of it that was located in Indiana. Halle Væte, his wife and a grown-up daughter, died there. Kolbein and Stark Saue* finally came to Koshkonong in 1843, and I believe died there. Stark (Styrk) Saue's youngest son, known as N. O. Stark, is an inventor of note, and is at present the superintendent of the Fuller & Johnson Manufacturing company, in Madison, Wis. Odd J. Himle lived in the Fox River settlement and in Chicago until 1844, when he made a visit to Norway. He spent the winter there,

*Stark Olson Saue was born at Voss, September 25, 1814, and died in Dane county, December 5, 1893. His wife, whose name was Ellen Olson Rekve, was born in Voss, July 16, 1816, and died in Dane county, October 8, 1882. They were married in America.

and married Miss Marie L. Jermo, and returned to America in 1845. Upon his return to America he settled on Spring Prairie north of Madison, Wis., and resided there on his farm until 1890, when he sold the farm and moved to De Forest, Dane county, and died there in May, 1893.

What became of Ole Dyvik I do not know, but Nils Larson Bolstad and John Haldorson Björgo appear among the first settlers on Koshkonong.

In 1838 Knud Lydvo, Ole Lydvo, Stephen K. Gilderhus and Lars Jerstad emigrated from Voss. Knud and Ole Lydvo and Lars Jerstad settled in Missouri, no doubt in Kleng Peerson's settlement in Shelby county, while S. K. Gilderhus remained a year in Cleveland, Ohio, then removed to Chicago, and finally settled on Koshkonong in 1844.

In 1839 we find the following emigrants from Voss: Ole K. Gilderhus, Anfin Leidal, Knud Gjöstein, Nils Lydvo, Lars Ygre, Anders Flage, Anders Nelson Brække and wife, Knud Brække and wife, Anna Gilderhus, Anders Fenno, Lars Dugstad, Anna Bakketun (afterwards Mrs. Nichols), Magne Bystöl, Lars Davidson Rekve and Nils S. Gilderhus. Nils Lydvo went to his brothers in Shelby county, Mo. Anna Gilder-

hus was the sister of Nels A. Lee's mother. Lars Dugstad was born in Voss in 1807, and died in Albion, Wis., in 1863. His wife, whom he married in the fifties, is still living in Cambridge, Wis. From the records it appears that this party landed in New York, July 8, 1839. L. D. Rekve, N. S. Gilderhus, Anfin Leidal, and Anders Finno went first to the Fox River settlement, and then to Koshkonong. The rest of this party remained in Chicago. Of this company Lars Davidson Rekve still lives in Deerfield, Dane county, Wis.

Lars Davidson Rekve worked the first year on a steamer plying between Chicago and St. Joseph, Mich. In the fall of 1840 he, in company with Nils and Ole Gilderhus, went first to the Fox River settlement, and then to Koshkonong. On reaching Albion, they stopped over night at the house of Thorstein Olson Bjaadland, who had not yet returned to Illinois for the winter. Thorstein Olson, who was a shoemaker, mended Lars Davidson's shoes for him. When they reached the northern part of the town of Christiana, a log house had been built there by the three Vossings who settled there in the spring or summer of 1840, and a small patch of ground had been cultivated. Lars Davidson Rekve bought a piece of land,

but did not settle there before a couple of years later. He is now the oldest Norwegian land purchaser living on Koshkonong.

In the winter of 1839 there was a party at the house of Mr. Gilderhus in Voss, and one man read aloud out of Ole Rynning's book. All listened attentively. It is said that wherever Ole Rynning's book was read anywhere in Norway, people listened as attentively as if they were in church. Several Vossings resolved to emigrate that year, and in obedience to instructions in Rynning's book all took guns or rifles with them to be prepared for all the wild game they expected to find in America.

Thus it will be seen that Rynning's book also found its way to Voss, where it had an important influence on emigration. In this connection it may be repeated that a lay preacher had brought a copy of one of Gjert Hovland's letters to Voss, and it was the reading of this letter that induced Nils Röthe, Nils Bolstad and John H. Björgo to emigrate in 1836 and 1837.

For the year 1840 Mr. Lee names the following emigrants from Voss: Knud J. Hylle, Ole S. Gilderhus, Knud Rokne, Mads Sönve, Baard Nyre, B. Rönve, Torstein Saue and wife and their son Gulleik, Lars Saue and wife, Klas

Grimestad and wife, Arne Orland and wife, and Lars Röthe. All these settled in Chicago. The ship in which they came was commanded by Captain Ankerson. Mr. Lee also names the principal emigrants from Voss for the years 1841, 1843, 1845, 1846, 1849 and 1850, but they do not come within the scope of this volume.

In the town of Christiana, Magne Bystöl and Anders Finno are to be counted among the pioneer settlers. In Deerfield, Dane county, N. Gilderhus was the first to purchase land, but Nils Bolstad built the first house there in 1841. His wife Anna, the sister of Gunnul Vindeg, was at that time the only white woman in that town. Nils Gilderhus and Magne Bystöl lived in a cellar a couple of miles west of Cambridge for two years, and Nels A. Lee, then a little child, with his parents, Anders N. Lee and wife, were accommodated in that same cellar on their arrival in 1841.

Among the descendants of Vossings who have become more or less prominent in America, I may here take occasion to mention Knute Nelson, now of Minnesota. He has served three terms in congress, has twice been elected governor of Minnesota, and in January, 1895, he was chosen to represent his state in

the United States senate. He has the honor of being the first of the Norwegian immigrants to occupy the above offices in America. While born in Norway, he was brought up and educated in Dane county, Wis., and old Koshkonong claims him as one of its most distinguished sons.

Knut Bergh (Berge), who, until his death, was a most competent and highly beloved professor in Luther College at Decorah, Iowa; Lars S. Reque, also a professor for many years at Luther College, and now United States consul at Rotterdam; Victor F. Lawson, the far-famed publisher of the *Record* and *News* of Chicago; C. R. Matson, who has held the office of sheriff and other prominent positions in Chicago; John Anderson, the energetic founder and publisher of *Skandinaven*, the widely known Norwegian newspaper, and Rev. S. S. Reque, the well-known Lutheran minister in Spring Grove, Minnesota, are all Vossings by birth or descent, and this does not by any means exhaust the catalogue of prominent Vossings in America. While the Vossings can not claim more than one-half of the credit for having produced Victor F. Lawson, his mother not being from Voss, they square the account by claiming one-half of the credit of bringing

forth M. N. Johnson, member of congress from North Dakota. The father of M. N. Johnson came from Thelemarken, but his mother from Voss.

After this digression we may return to the founding of the Norwegian settlement on Koshkonong.

In 1839 Odd J. Himle, Nils Larson Bolstad and Magne Bottolfson Bystölen were living in the Fox River settlement, and Nils Siverson Gilderhus had just arrived there from Norway. Bolstad, Gilderhus and Bystölen were anxious to secure farms for themselves, and so they hired Odd J. Himle to go with them to Wisconsin, where good land was to be had. Magne Bystölen was prevented by sickness from going, but it was agreed that the rest of the party should select land for him, too. The three others started from La Salle county, Ill., in the fall of 1839, say in September, or more probably in October, and went first to Milwaukee, and then proceeded west to Dane county. It is needless to add that they went all the way on foot. They stopped in the northern part of the present town of Christiana, and after looking the ground over for a couple of days, they then selected land a short distance northwest from the present Cam-

bridge, in the northeast part of the town of Christiana. Thus these three Vossings appear to be the first three Norwegians who visited Koshkonong. They selected 120 acres of land, viz., forty for Nils S. Gilderhus, forty for Nils Larson Bolstad and forty for Magne Bystölen. Odd Himle, who had acted as their guide, did not select any land for himself, and we have seen that he did not settle on Koshkonong. The three men left Koshkonong as soon as they had selected their land, proceeded to Milwaukee, where Mr. Lee claims they made entry of the land at the land office, and then spent the winter in the Fox River settlement.

Early the next spring N. S. Gilderhus, N. L. Bolstad, Magne Bystöl and Anders Fenno left the Fox River settlement and moved up to Koshkonong. There they built on Magne Bystöl's land a cellar or dugout in the face of a bank, and in this they were all sheltered during the first year. Mr. Lee thinks this was the first house built by Norwegians in the town of Christiana. For my part I am inclined to think that Gunnul Olson Vindeg built the first house in that township, and I shall give my reasons later on. The first township north of Christiana is Deerfield, and there the first Norwegian to select land and build a house was

Nils L. Bolstad. In 1841 he married, as stated, Anna, a sister of Gunnul O. Vindeg, and the same year he built his house in Deerfield, where his wife was the first white woman. Nils Gilderhus and Magne Bystöl lived in the dugout two winters, and with them Nels A. Lee and his parents found shelter on their arrival on Koshkonong in December, 1841.

In my opinion Gunnul Olson Vindeg was the first Norwegian to build a house and actually locate in what is now the town of Christiana, and so far as I have been able to make out, he was the first Norwegian to settle in Dane county. He came to America in 1839 from Rolloug in Numedal, where he was born August 16, 1808. He was to have come with Ansten Nattestad in the "Emelia," but he was detained by the sickness of his child, and so came on later by another route. He found his way by the usual immigrant route from New York to Chicago, and from there he came on to Jefferson Prairie, near Beloit, where the majority of the Nattestad company had settled. There he spent the first winter, but early in the spring of 1840 he built or bought or borrowed a boat, and in it he and a companion by name Gjermund Knudson Sunde, who also had come from Numedal in 1839, navigated up

Rock river, and, as the story goes, up Koshkonong lake and Koshkonong creek into the town of Christiana, and so found the parcel of land where he located and lived until his death, which occurred October 22, 1846. He was killed by an accident. Gjermund K. Sunde also selected forty acres of land, which he afterwards sold to Ole Lier. Gjermund Sunde lost his reason, and in this condition he disappeared, and doubtless soon perished.

Gunnul Olson had two sisters and a brother who came to America a year or two later. One of his sisters, Berit, married a Swede, John G. Smith, who pretended to be both minister and preacher. His wife soon died, and John G. Smith left about 1844. He went first to Chicago, but soon disappeared from that city, and has not since been heard from. The other sister, Anna, married Nils Larson Bolstad, as stated above. The brother's name was Helleik, who, in company with Lars Kvendalen and a man called Nils Halling, made counterfeit Norwegian paper money in the early forties, and went to Norway with it, where they were arrested, found guilty and put in prison. The township in which Gunnul Vindeg settled in 1840 contained at the time less than a dozen

settlers, and as several Norwegians soon located there it was called Christiana (should have been Christiania), after the capital of Norway, on the suggestion of Gunnul Olson Vindeg.

Gunnul Olson Vindeg and Gjermund Sunde returned with their boat to Beloit, and soon after we find Gunnul moving with his wife in a covered wagon from Jefferson Prairie to Koshkonong. He stopped at Milton, Wis., on his way for repairs. Ezra Goodrich, of Milton, and Jones, of Ft. Atkinson, visited him in his home early in the summer of 1840. They were caught in a heavy rain storm and drove to Gunnul Olson's shanty, where they stopped. Ezra Goodrich says: "We stayed at Gunnul Olson's and got dinner. It was the first Norwegian dinner we had ever eaten, but we were as hungry as a wolf and we don't remember to have relished a better meal. They had only fried pork, warm biscuits and coffee. The coffee was made in a little copper kettle that was as round as a ball. The shanty had but one small room with a bed in the corner, and a ladder up to a little low attic under the roof. It had a little stall attached to one end for the cow. Mr. Gunnul Olson was subsequently killed by a loaded wagon tipping over him."

My good friend, Ezra Goodrich, of Milton, makes a mistake when in an Edgerton paper he says he made the above visit to Gunnul Vindeg's in 1839, as it is a well-established fact that Gunnul did not leave Norway before the summer of 1839.

Much has been written about Gunnul Vindeg's journey by boat from Beloit to Koshkonong, and many objections have been raised. It is argued that he could not take his family, household effects and cattle with him in a boat, and that the journey on foot would have been much easier and would have taken much less time. The answer to the first objection is that he naturally left his family and cattle on Jefferson Prairie until he had found the land he proposed to settle on. He actually did first select his future home and then went back with the boat and took his family and belongings in a wagon by way of Milton. In reply to the second objection it may be said that he probably started from Beloit early in the spring, when the low lands would be more or less flooded with water. We must bear in mind that he did not know the country into which he was to penetrate. He naturally wanted to select land near some stream, where he could be sure of getting water, timber and meadow,

and by going up a river in a boat he would naturally feel more certain of finding what he looked for, and under all circumstances he would be more sure not to get lost in an unknown wilderness. In the boat he could at any time easily find his way back to Beloit, the place he started from. The more I think of it, the more it seems to me that the most prudent thing was to go up Rock river by boat. None of the old settlers on Koshkonong ever saw this boat, and this has been used as an argument against its existence. It goes almost without saying, that when Gunnul and Gjermund had come all the way up to the present town of Christiana against the current, it would be mere pastime to go back in the same boat, in the first place, because it would be down stream, and in the second place, because they would not have a moment's anxiety about finding the way.

And now as to actual evidence. There is a son of Gunnul Olson Vindeg still living on Koshkonong. His name is Ole Gunnulson, and he is a man of great intelligence and most excellent character. He writes me that Gjermund Sunde talked with Lars Lier about this journey by boat and told him that they had tied the boat a little below the Anixstad ford,

where the Funkeli bridge was afterwards built. Lars Lier made this statement to Ole Gunnulson. Halvor Kravig, an old settler, says that Gunnul Vindeg pointed out a place a little below where Henrik Lien now lives, as the spot where he tied the boat. There is no objection to this conflict in the evidence. They probably first tied the boat where Gjermund says they left it, and then moved it to the other place at the mouth of a little brook, which led them to the land which Gunnul bought. Jens P. Vehus, who was Ole Gunnulson's uncle, being a brother of Gunnul Vindeg's wife, and a neighbor, reports that Gunnul had told him how many difficulties they had had to contend with in rowing up the creek. They had found obstacles in the form of windfalls across the creek, and they had been obliged to use the axe to get these windfalls out of the way. My brother Andrew is inclined to doubt this boat episode, but he has not had the opportunity of examining the evidence, which, to my mind, is entirely satisfactory.

We have now seen that the Vossings visited the northeastern part of Christiana in the fall of 1839, and that Nils Siverson Gilderhus, Anders Finno, Nils Larson Bolstad and Magne Bottolfson Bystöl actually settled there in the

spring or summer of 1840. We have also seen that Gunnul Olson Vindeg, from Numedal, visited the southeastern part of Christiana early in the spring of 1840, and settled there as soon as he could bring his family from Jefferson Prairie, and we are thus prepared to show how a third group of Norwegians settled in the northeastern part of what is now the town of Albion.

That same spring (1840) Björn Anderson Kvelve, Amund Anderson Hornefjeld, Thorstein Olson Bjaadland, Lars Dugstad, Lars Scheie and Amund Anderson Rossaland, formed a party to go in search of land and homesteads, and started from the Fox River settlement, where they had been living several years. They set out on foot, and went by the way of Shabano Grove, Rockford, Beloit, Janesville, Milton, and crossed Rock river at Goodrich's Ferry (now Newville), and continued until they reached the northeast corner of Albion, which is the township immediately south of Christiana. The first four of these immediately selected land in the town of Albion. Amund Rossaland chose a piece of land near that selected by Björn Anderson and Thorstein Olson, but a government surveyor stated that it had already been taken, and it was soon

afterwards occupied by William Fulton. The result was that Amund Rossaland and Lars Scheie went to Jefferson Prairie and located there.

My oldest brother Andrew, who was born in 1832, writes me that he remembers that our father started from the Fox River settlement for Wisconsin, in company with the men mentioned above, in the spring of 1840, and he adds that our mother made a bag for provisions which father carried on his back. It was made with straps fastened above and below on the bag for the arms to pass through, and he also remembers that father carried a cane.

In regard to early immigrants and early days on Koshkonong I have the following letter from my brother Andrew, written from White Willow, Minnesota, February 8, 1895:

"My Dear Brother Rasmus:

"Your letters dated the 29th and 31st ultimo were duly received.

"I remember some of the Norwegians that came to America while I was a little boy, but I am not able to give the year they came. Of these immigrants I remember particularly Amund Anderson Hornefjeld, Thorstein Olson Bjaadland (the slooper), Lars Dugstad, Amund Anderson Rossaland, his wife, two sons, Endre

and Elling, and daughter Anna; Lars Scheie and wife and two daughters, Gyri and Anna; Tönnes Tollefson, who married Miss Anna Rossaland; Lars Kvendalen, Nils Bolstad, Nils Gilderhus, Magne Bystölen, Helleik Vindeg, Ole and Ansten Nattestad. Amund Rossaland and Lars Scheie moved from Jefferson Prairie onto land that they bought near Baraboo, Wis. Helleik Vindeg, Lars and Nils Halling made counterfeit money and went to Norway. During the winter of 1841 these three unmarried men, all from Numedal, spent their time partly on Koshkonong and partly in Whitewater, making Norwegian money. The next year they went to Norway, where they were convicted and sent to prison. The supposition is, that this lot of counterfeit money was made by these men during their sojourn on Koshkonong. They wore the money as soles in their boots in order to make the bills look old and worn. Nils Halling was considered the least guilty of the three, and was accordingly sentenced to a shorter term in prison. After paying the penalty of his crime, he returned to America, and became an industrious farmer, in the town of Albion, where he died at an advanced age. Helleik Vindeg was a brother of Gunnul Vindeg. Gunnul Vindeg had a sis-

ter who married a Swede, by name John Smith, a man of doubtful character, who officiated both as minister and physician. Gunnul Vindeg had another sister, Anna, who was married to Nils Bolstad, and lived near Cambridge, in the neighborhood of Magne Bystölen, Kolbein Saue and Nils Gilderhus.

"I visited Amund Rossaland in 1862. He was living on a farm about ten miles from Kilbourn City, and about the same distance from Baraboo. His son Endre used to stop at our house in Albion, when he went on his visits to Jefferson Prairie. I think they moved in 1843 or 1844, and their home was near the bank of the Wisconsin river.

"And now a word about Gunnul Vindeg going by boat from Beloit up Rock river, and Koshkonong creek. I am familiar with the report, but I have had doubts as to whether the feat was actually accomplished. There was certainly no necessity for choosing such a way of getting to Koshkonong in 1840.

"In this connection, I will relate a little experience I had, in going by boat down Koshkonong creek from where we lived to the lake.

"The summer that we built our stone house on the prairie, that is in 1851, Halvor Murmester made me a boat to use in my hunting expeditions. In the spring of 1852, I heard of

good fishing, down at Johnston's saw-mill (now Busseyville). Ole Lien, Sr., and I concluded to take the boat down the creek, chiefly for the novelty of it. We started early in the morning, with a view of getting through before dark; to our surprise, the sun set before we were more than about half way to the mill. It was moonlight, and we plied the oars with all our might, and got to our destination about midnight. The only description I can give of the creek, is that it was very crooked. Well, we caught no fish, and went home afoot. Having the boat at the mill, Mr. Thure Kumlien and I made a hunting expedition with the boat, to Koshkonong lake, and returned the same day with the boat to the mill. The boat was finally brought home on a wagon. I am inclined to think that this little "Viking" boat, is the only one that ever navigated the waters of Koshkonong creek, down to 1852. The first Norwegians that came to Koshkonong, were Gunnul Vindeg, wife and two sisters, Gjermund Knudson Sunde, Thorstein Olson, Amund Anderson, Lars Dugstad, Björn Anderson, wife and four children, Nils Bolstad, Nils Gilderhus, Magne Bystölen, Helleik Vindeg, Lars Kvendalen and Nils Halling.

"Affectionately, your brother,

"ARNOLD ANDREW ANDERSON."

Of Thorstein Olson Bjaadland, Björn Anderson Kvelve, Amund Anderson Hornefjeld and Lars Dugstad, I have already given biographical notices. Just as Gunnul Vindeg's sister, Mrs. Anna Bolstad, was the first white woman in the town of Deerfield, so my mother and my two sisters were the first white women in the town of Albion.

While the Vossings, Odd J. Himle, Nils Larson Bolstad, and Nils Siverson Gilderhus, visited, and we may say discovered, Koshkonong, in the autumn of 1839, I believe Gunnul Olson Vindeg was the first Norwegian to locate in Dane county. I take this to be the fact, largely for the reason that he had so short a distance to go to get there. He had come from Norway to Jefferson Prairie, in the fall of 1839, and as soon as the weather permitted, the next spring he and Gjermund Sunde went in a boat up to the township of Christiana, and if he started as early as I think he did, there was nothing to hinder his getting located on his homestead with his family, in the month of April.

The other Norwegians who came to Koshkonong in 1840, made their departure from the Fox River settlement. They had much further to go, and presumably did not start until

the weather was settled and the ground dry for walking. Of those who started from Fox river, there were again two parties; one a party of Vossings, and the other party made up chiefly of Stavangerings. I have not been able to make out which of these two parties first left the Fox River settlement, or which arrived first at their destination. The Vossings were bound for the northeast part of Christiana, where they had selected land the preceding autumn, while the Stavangerings went in search of land, which they found in the northeast part of Albion. I have taken pains to examine the records, but all I can find is that all the parties mentioned, entered their land at the government land office in the year 1840. The Vossings remained on their land in 1840, while all the Stavangerings who located in Albion, went back to the Fox River settlement, spent the winter there and did not actually settle in Albion before the spring of 1841. Thorstein Olson Bjaadland built a shanty on his land in 1840, before returning to Illinois, and in the spring of 1841, he and my father with his family moved into this, and my father had shelter there, while he built his own little log house "down by the spring."

Before leaving the discussion of this subject, I want to quote what Prof. Svein Nilsson published in *Billed-Magazin* in 1869, page 387, in connection with his sketch of John Haldorson Björgo. He says: "John Björgo worked a week in Rochester, N. Y., and in this way he earned money to get to Chicago. Here he again worked to earn some more money, and then he continued his journey westward to La Salle county, Illinois, where a part of the sloop people had founded a Norwegian colony. 'Here, I at once got work,' says Björgo. 'For my money I bought a scythe and whet-stone, and during the harvest, I earned a dollar a day by mowing, and from that time, I continually made progress, so that after living in this settlement for five years, I had saved enough to be able to establish my own home.' In April, 1840, some of the people living in La Salle county, went north to look for homes in Wisconsin. Among those who set out for this purpose, I may mention Nils Bolstad (now deceased), Nils Gilderhus (now living in Minnesota), and Magne Bystölen (died in Minnesota). On their journey they came to the region now called Christiana. They liked the locality, and went at once to Milwaukee, where they selected land at the land office. On their

return to La Salle county, they told about their discoveries, and as there was fertile land to be had in abundance, many of their countrymen decided to move from Illinois and settle in Wisconsin. John Björgo came in the spring of 1841, and a little later, Ole Siverson Gilderhus also settled a little further north, in the town of Deerfield. He is a brother of the above mentioned Nils Gilderhus, who, the preceding year, had been here on a journey of discovery. 'Now we wrote,' says John Björgo, 'to our friends and informed them about the land here.'"

I give this quotation for what it may be worth, with the remark that it was written in 1868, that is, twenty-seven years ago, as taken down from the lips of John Halderson Björgo, who was an intelligent and honest man, who was in a position to know what he was talking about.

The other version, making those Norwegians visit Koshkonong in the fall of 1839, is published by Nels A. Lee, a very intelligent, honest and painstaking investigator, and he has his facts from the lips of no less authority than Odd J. Himle, himself. Odd J. Himle lived until May, 1893, and he was a man of intelligence and undoubted veracity. It would seem

that Odd J. Himle ought to know what he had himself done.

After the above was written and printed I finally received on May 22, 1895, the following letter from the United States land commissioner at Washington, D. C. As every reader will see it throws valuable light on the question as to who were the first Norwegians to enter land in Dane county.

The official records thus show that Nils Larson Bolstad, Magne Bottolfson Bystölen and Nils Siverson Gilderhus were the first, and that their lands were entered by them on May 6, 1840.

They were followed by Gunnul Olson Vindeg, who entered his land sixteen days later, on May 22, 1840.

Björn Anderson Kvelve, Amund Anderson Hornefjeld, and Thorstein Olson Bjaadland did not enter their land until June 22, 1840, that is, just one month later than the Vossings. This definitely settles the question as to who were the first Norwegians to locate in the Koshkonong settlement.

The letter from the land commissioner at Washington does not, of course, answer the question as to whether the Vossings, as claimed by Mr. Nels A. Lee, had *visited* Koshkonong in the autumn of 1839. They certainly did not

enter any land that year; but from the fact that they were able to enter their lands as early as May 6, 1840, it seems more than probable that they had actually *visited* and *selected* their homesteads the autumn before (1839). I am personally fully persuaded that the Vossings, Odd J. Himle, Nils Larson Bolstad and Nils Siverson Gilderhus must have visited the town of Christiana in the fall of 1839. The following letter speaks for itself and is entirely authentic:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
General Land Office,
Washington, D. C., May 18, 1895.

Hon. Rasmus B. Anderson,
Madison, Wisconsin.

Sir:

I am in receipt of your letter of May 3, 1895, stating that you wish to ascertain who are the first Norwegians who actually entered or purchased land in Dane county, Wisconsin; that the first settlers located there in 1840; that you wish to investigate only concerning the towns of Albion (town 5 north, range 12 east), Christiana (town 6 north, range 12 east), and Deerfield (town 7 north, range 12 east); that the persons in question are:

Gunnul Olson (Vindeg) in Christiana.
Nils Siverson in Christiana.
Magne Bottolfson in Christiana.
Björn Anderson in Albion.
Amund Anderson in Albion.
Thorstein Olson in Albion.

Nils Larson (Bolstad) in Deerfield; that you have examined the records in the Dane County Court House, but they give you no clue; that what you desire to know in connection with a book you are publishing, in what year, what month and what day the above persons entered or bought their land; that there is a claim that some of them entered their land as early as 1839, that your impression is that they all entered their land in 1840.

In reply you are advised that, as shown by the records of this office, no entrymen, apparently Norwegian, entered or purchased land in the townships named prior to 1840, and that the names of those who entered during that year are not exactly the same as those mentioned by you, but appear as follows:

Omen Anderson made C. E. No. 7330, June 22, 1840, for the east half of the southeast quarter of section 1, town 5 north, range 12 east.

Birn Anderson made C. E. No. 7332, June 22,

1840, for west half of southeast quarter of section 1, town 5 north, range 12 east.

Lars Olson made C. E. 7333, June 22, 1840, for the east half of the southwest quarter of section 1, town 5 north, range 12 east.

Foster Olsen made C. E. No. 7334, June 22, 1840, for the west half of the northeast quarter of section 2, town 5 north, range 12 east.

Nils Larson made C. E. No. 7035, May 6, 1840, for the northeast quarter of the northwest quarter of section 2, town 6 north, range 12 east.

Magany Buttelson made C. E. No. 7033, May 6, 1840, for northwest quarter of northwest quarter of section 2, town 6 north, range 12 east.

Gunul Oleson Windeg made C. E. No. 7129, May 22, 1840, for the northeast quarter of the northwest quarter of section 35, town 6 north, range 12 east.

Lars Davidson made C. E. No. 7944, December 8, 1840, for the south half of the southwest quarter of section 28, town 7 north, range 12 east.

Nils Seaverson made C. E. No. 7034, May 6, 1840, for south half of the southwest quarter of section 35, town 7 north, range 12 east.

Very respectfully,

S. W. LAMOREUX,

Commissioner.

Jens Pederson Vehus, who died in the autumn of 1894, came from Nore, in Numedal, in 1842. He was a brother of Gunnul Vindeg's wife, and in the same ship with him came Halvor Funkelien from Kongsberg and Thore Nore, from Numedal. They all settled on Koshkonong, and Halvor Funkelien had a lawsuit with Rev. J. W. C. Dietrichson, of which Rev. Dietrichson gives a long account in his volume about his first visit to America.

One of the old settlers on Koshkonong in the southeast part of Christiana was Lars Johanneson Holo, who emigrated from Ringsaker, in Norway, in 1839. He was an intimate friend of Johan Nordboe, who emigrated from Ringebo in Gudbransdsdalen in 1832. Johan Nordboe wrote letters from America to Lars Holo, and this induced him to emigrate in company with a glass-blower by name Lauman, from Faaberg. This Lauman afterwards died in the Sugar Creek settlement, near Keokuk, Iowa. They went by way of Havre to New York, and first located in Rochester, New York. Lars Holo remained in Rochester about two years. He and his three grown up sons getting employment on the canal there. In 1841, he went to Muskego, and in 1843 he finally located on Koshkonong. He and his wife died

there, both very old. Many of his sons are living, and one of them, Martin L. Holo, now owns the farm bought in Albion by Björn Anderson Kvelve.

Seven years later (1846), Lars J. Holo's brother, Anders Johanneson Tömmerstigen, emigrated from Vardal in Norway, and settled near his brother on Koshkonong. Anders and his wife prospered and died at an advanced age. Their youngest son, Peter, now owns the old homestead, and is one of the most successful and intelligent farmers in the town of Christiana.

XXII.

Miscellaneous Matters.

In the year 1840, Gudmund Haugaas and Johan Nordboe, and possibly Engebret Larson Narvig, were the only Norwegians who had practiced the art of medicine in America. Neither had studied medicine in any medical college. So far as I have been able to learn, the first regular graduate of the medical department of the university of Norway who came to America, to practice medicine, was a

man, by name Brandt, from Drammen. He first practiced a while in Chicago, then in the Norwegian settlements in Illinois, then bought a farm in Iowa, and finally settled as a regular practitioner in Indiana. I do not know what year he came to America, or what finally became of him.

Brandt was followed by Theodore Schjötte and Gerhard C. Paoli. Both came to Koshkonong. Dr. Schötte returned to Norway and became a government physician in Finmarken, and Dr. Paoli is still practicing in Chicago. Dr. Madsen was a medical student from Norway. He settled in Cambridge, Wisconsin, and died there. Dr. J. C. Dundas came to America about the year 1850, and settled in Cambridge, where he died about a dozen years ago. After him came Dr. E. Hanson, who lived near Utica, on Koshkonong, but eventually returned to Norway, where he died. The number of Norwegian physicians now living in America is very large, both of those who have graduated in Norway, and of those who have studied in this country.

Ole Rynning's book produced a large emigration from Norway in 1839, particularly from Numedal and adjoining districts, where his statements were corroborated by the pres-

ence of Ansten Nattestad. But the report of Ole Rynning's untimely death at Beaver Creek, partly caused by his unhealthy work on the canal between Chicago and the Illinois river, while it did not absolutely stop emigration, made people hesitate and wait until they could get reliable reports from friends and relatives in America. The revival came in 1843, when two ships sailed from Bergen, in one of which we find Kleng Peerson, and in the other Knud Langland. That same year an emigrant vessel sailed from Dröbak, in the eastern part of Norway. This ship from Dröbak was commanded by Capt. Gasman, and among the emigrants were found Hans Gasman and his family. Hans Gasman came from near Skien, that is, Thelemarken. He had been a member of the Norwegian Storthing, and was a man of character and considerable prominence. He and many of his company went to Pine Lake, in Wisconsin, where a young Swedish settlement had been founded by a Swedish minister named G. Unonius in 1841. The fact that Hans Gasman located there brought a large number of Norwegian immigrants to this settlement. These people chose Mr. Unonius as their pastor, and he was ordained by an Episcopalian bishop. In 1843, the people in this settle-

ment had resolved to build a church on the west side of Pine Lake.

About 2,000 Norwegians emigrated in 1843, mainly from Thelemarken and Voss, and a majority of them came to Wisconsin. The emigration would scarcely have been less in 1844, but for the fact that many were waiting to get letters and reports from their friends concerning affairs in America, and about the condition of Norwegian settlements. Much of this information was supplied by Johan Reinert Reierson's book in regard to his visit to America in 1843. He had traveled extensively both north and south, and had made a more thorough investigation than had ever been made before, by any Norwegian. His book "Veiviseren" (The Pathfinder) was published in Norway in 1844. The "Pathfinder" was a volume of 166 pages, and gave a far more elaborate account of conditions and opportunities in America than Rynning's little pamphlet of only 39 pages, though the two books covered pretty much the same ground and agreed in views and conclusions.

XXIII.

Capt. Hans Friis.

Among the many gallant tars who assisted in piloting thousands of our Norwegian emigrants to their new fatherland, I must not neglect to mention Capt. Hans Friis. He was a sailor in "Enigheden," the ship that left Egersund in 1837, and he made no less than nine trips with emigrants from Norway between the years 1837 and 1847. In 1847, he concluded he would emigrate himself, and from that time until his death, he remained a United States citizen. He began his life in America, as a sailor on our great lakes. Then he tried to get into the United States navy, but failed. Finally he enlisted in the United States army; was wounded, discharged, had a pension, and spent his old days on his farm in Muskego, where he died in 1886.

Hans Friis was born near Farsund, in Norway, December 14, 1809. In his younger days he received some instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic. Later he studied naviga-

tion, and when about 25 years old, he passed an examination as navigator.

His career as a sailor began when he was about 16 years old by going as cook in a small vessel on the coast of Norway. He soon shipped on board a larger vessel, and sailed to various European ports. He advanced until he became ship carpenter, and finally, second mate. During these years he visited most of the ports of Europe, and acquired some knowledge of English and German. In the spring of 1837, he hired as a common sailor in a ship in Egersund, bound for America with emigrants, and that summer made his first visit to New York. In 1839, we find him a sailor in Captain Ankerson's ship "Emelie," going with emigrants from Drammen. He sailed several years with Captain Ankerson, the last years as second mate. After some years, Captain Ankerson quit sailing, and Friis hired in another ship from Drammen. As far as I can find out, the name of this ship was "Tricolo," and it was commanded by Captain Overveien of Farsund. Friis was first mate. The "Tricolo" was also engaged in carrying emigrants to New York. In the spring of 1846, Friis became captain of "Tricolo," and that summer made a trip to New York with emigrants.

After his return to Norway, in the fall, "Tricolo" was sold and a young man, a relative of the new owner, became captain, and Friis became first mate. In the spring of 1847, the ship sailed from Drammen, with a party of emigrants, destined for America, and the young captain, having but little experience as a sailor, the ship had a long and troublesome voyage to New York. Friis decided to leave the ship in New York, but the captain would not pay him his wages, and so Friis went to the Swedish-Norwegian consul, and telling him how matters stood, he got his pay.

Friis was in New York nine times with emigrants; the first time in 1837, and the last in 1847, and in this time he three times accompanied the immigrants as far as Milwaukee, the ship in the meantime, taking its cargo for some European port. During the winters in Norway, Friis traveled extensively in the eastern part of Norway as emigrant agent, and thus he became acquainted with many of the pioneers in the Norwegian settlements in America.

In 1847, he settled in America, and for several years, he sailed on the great lakes, first before the mast, but later as captain of the ship "North Cape."

July 4, 1852, he was married in Milwaukee to Miss Bertha Andrea Abrahamson, and lived there until 1854, when he and his wife moved to Muskego, where some time before he had bought a farm in the town of Norway. Not being used to agriculture, he continued sailing while his wife managed the farm.

In 1863, he desired to enlist in the United States navy, and was sent to Philadelphia, but as there was no place for him, he enlisted in company A, 61st regiment Pennsylvania volunteers. He was wounded in the battle of Petersburg, a bullet passing through the upper part of his right shoulder, and was discharged June 8, 1865.

After his return from the war, he lived on his farm, where he died, August 14, 1886. His wife and five children, three boys and two girls, survive him, all in comfortable circumstances. His nephew, Jer. F. Fries, a banker in Toronto, South Dakota, is a most intelligent man, and I am indebted to him for many valuable facts contained in this volume. He is a most excellent correspondent.

The following is a copy of the discharge of Mr. Hans Friis from the army:

"Hans Friis, a privtae of Capt. D. M. Lookhart's Company "A," 61st Regiment of Penn-

sylvania Volunteers, enrolled September 1, 1863, to serve three years, was discharged from service the 8th day of June, 1865, at Harewood General Hospital by reason of disability.

"Surgeon.

"Said Hans Friis, born in Norway, is 53 years old, 5 ft. 8 in. high, fair complexion, gray eyes, and dark hair and beard."

XXIV.

Retrospect.

As we now look back and examine the ground we have gone over in the present volume, we find that in the year 1840, there were six Norwegian settlements in America that were destined to continue to receive accretions from the old county, and become more or less prominent in the annals of Norwegians in this country. These six settlements were:

1. The Kendall settlement founded by Kleng Peerson and the sloopers on the shores of Lake Ontario, in Orleans county, New York, in the autumn of 1825. This settlement still exists, though it has not grown much in the past fifty years. Land was too dear in Orleans

county for Norwegian immigrants. No Norwegian schools or churches were ever built in the Kendall settlement. The Norwegians there are pretty thoroughly Americanized, and they have but little correspondence or intercourse with their countrymen in other parts of America. The Norwegian language, is, however, still spoken there by a few of the inhabitants.

2. The Fox River settlement, in La Salle county, Illinois, discovered by Kleng Peerson in 1833, and founded by him and others from the Kendall settlement in 1834. It received large accretions in 1835, and particularly in 1836, 1837 and 1838, and it became the nucleus of a number of settlements in the adjoining counties Lee, Kendall and others.

3. Chicago, Illinois. Here the first Norwegians settled in 1836. Here Halstein Torrison from Fjelberg, in Norway, was the first to settle, October 16, 1836. There are now more Norwegians in Chicago than any where else in America.

4. Jefferson Prairie in Rock county, Wisconsin, and in Boone county, Illinois, also including Rock Prairie, west of the Rock river in Rock county, Wisconsin, and Rock Run, in Illinois, in 1838. Ole Knudson Nattestad was the founder of the Jefferson Prairie settlement

in 1838. Gullik O. Gravdahl became the first settler on Rock Prairie in 1839, and Klemet Stabek in Rock Run in 1839.

5. Muskego, in Waukesha and Racine counties, Wisconsin. The settlement in Waukesha county was founded by the Luraas party, from Tin, Thelemarken, in 1839, and the settlement in Norway, Racine county, was started in 1840 by Sören Bache and Johannes Johannesen, from Drammen. These were soon followed by Even Heg, and others. In Muskego, was published, in 1847, *Nordlyset*, the first Norwegian newspaper in America.

6. Koshkonong, in the southeastern part of Dane county, Wisconsin,. The first Norwegian settlers there were Gunnul Olson Vindeg, Björn Anderson Kvelve, Thorstein Olson Bjaadland, Amund Anderson Hornefjeld, Lars Olson Dugstad, Nils Larson Bolstad, Nils Siverson Gilderhus, Magne Bottolfson Bystöl and Anders Finno. This settlement grew rapidly, and soon spread throughout Dane county. It is still the largest and most prosperous community of Norwegian farmers in America.

But in reviewing our work, we find that a number of Norwegians had settled outside of these six settlements in 1840, some with, and others without, the purpose of founding Norwe-

gian settlements. If we go back to the year 1840, we will find Norwegians domiciled in New York city, (Lars Tallakson) in Rochester, N. Y., (Lars Larson and others) in Detroit, Mich., (N. P. Langeland with his family) in Philadelphia, Pa., and also in New Orleans. I have not been able to trace any of the Norwegians living in Philadelphia or New Orleans, but in his book on America, Ole Rynning states that there were Norwegians residing in those cities in 1837.

In the foregoing pages we have taken note of Norwegian settlers living alone or in bodies in the following places before the end of the year 1840:

1. In Lenauwee county, near Adrian, Michigan, where Ingebret Larson settled in 1833, and afterwards was joined by a few others.

2. At Niagara Falls, where Ole Olson Hetletvedt worked in a paper mill in the early thirties.

3. Thorstein Olson Bjaadland left the Kendall settlement early, and wandered into Michigan and other states, before he got to the Fox River settlement in 1834.

4. In Shelby county, Mo., where Kleng Peerson and about a dozen Stavangerings from the Fox River settlement, located in the spring of 1837.

5. In White county, Indiana. In his book, page 12, Ole Rynning says that about seventy miles south of Lake Michigan, in White county, Indiana, on the Tippecanoe river, there lived in 1837 two Norwegians from Drammen, who together owned 1,100 acres of land, and that there was still good land to be had near them. I have not been able to identify these two Norwegians from Drammen. I have made many attempts to find out who they were, but all my efforts thus far have been fruitless.

6. In Beaver Creek, Iroquois county, Illinois, in 1837. Here Ole Rynning wrote his book, and here he died and was buried near Mons Adland's farm. The last one to abandon this unfortunate settlement was Mons Adland, in 1840. Among those who settled there Rev. O. J. Hatlestad mentions one Knud Tysland, who has escaped my notice. The Beaver Creek settlement was near the state line of Indiana and extended partly into that state, so that some people are in the habit of speaking of the Beaver Creek settlement as in Indiana.

7. In Clark county, Missouri, where Lars Tallakson settled in 1838, and spent three years, moving to Lee county, Iowa, in 1841.

8. In Noble county, Indiana, where Ole Aasland, from Fledsberg, bought 600 acres of

land, and located with a colony of twenty of his countrymen in 1838. Ole Aasland soon abandoned the colony, and removed to Kendall, N. Y., where he died in 1864.

9. In Dallas county, Texas, where Johan Nordboe located in 1838 with the avowed purpose of getting as far away from his countrymen as possible. He left a married daughter in the Fox River settlement, and upon her death Ole Canuteson took her children to their grandfather in Dallas county.

10. In Sugar Creek in Lee county, Iowa, about seven miles from Keokuk. This settlement was founded by Kleng Peerson, Hans Barlien, Andrew Simonson, the three brothers, Peter, William and Hans Tesman, and by a number of people from Nærstrand, in Stavanger Amt, Norway. It will be noticed that this settlement was located near the prosperous Mormon city of Nauvoo in Illinois, and the Norwegians in the Sugar Creek colony were mostly Mormons. Johan Reinert Reierson mentions this settlement, and says that both Hans Barlien and one of the Tesmans had emigrated from Norway on account of litigation in which they were involved. He puts its population in 1843 as thirty to forty families and says they were Mormons.

XXV.

TEXAS

Johan Reinert Reierson.

In 1840 there was, so far as I have been able to learn, only one Norwegian family residing in Texas. Johan Nordboe and his wife and children had settled in Dallas county on a large tract of land in 1838. He founded no settlement.

Although this volume was to end with the year 1840, I cannot resist the temptation of giving a brief sketch of when and how the first couple of settlements were formed in that far-off state. The honor of founding the first Norwegian settlement there belongs to Johan Reinert Reierson.

Johan Reinert Reierson was born April 17, 1810, in Vestre Moland, Norway, where his father, Ole Reierson, was a deacon. The father afterwards moved to Holt. Ole Reierson had seven sons and two daughters, Johan Rein-

ert being the eldest. The boy, being talented, was to have an education, but the means of the deacon were limited, and Reinert had to earn money as a private teacher in Tvedestrand. On account of some youthful indiscretions, he was obliged to leave the university at Christiania, and went to Copenhagen, where he supported himself for several years by translating German and French books, in conjunction with C. F. Gyntelberg. In Copenhagen he married his wife, Henrietta Walter, and had with her six sons and two daughters. The wife died when her last son was born in Prairieville, Texas, in the beginning of 1851. From Copenhagen, Reierson went to Hamburg, and after a short stay there, he came back to Norway, where in Christiansand, he began the publication of *Christiansandsposten*, through which he worked for education, freedom of conscience, religious tolerance and the development of public sentiment. He did all he could to promote liberty and independence, and he worked with all his might against the evil of intemperance, and for this reason, some gave him the nickname, "the apostle of temperance." He succeeded in organizing the first temperance society in Christiansand, and he gradually started other

similar societies in the neighboring districts. He often criticised the office-holding class, and was always ready to take the part of the poor against the abuse of those in power. The fact that his paper contained information about America, and encouraged people to emigrate, gave offense to many people, for in that time emigration was looked upon as a crime close akin to treason. Among Reierson's most bitter enemies, was Adolph Stabell, the editor of *Morgenbladet*, in Christiania, the leading paper in Norway; but Mrs. Elise Wærenskjold testifies that she has heard Stabell say that Reierson was the most competent editor in Norway. One of Reierson's friends, Christian Grögaard, a son of the Eidsvoldsman, Rev. Hans Jacob Grögaard, proposed when it was known that Reierson had decided to emigrate, that he should be induced, first to make a journey alone, and find out what localities in America were best suited for Norwegian emigrants. For this purpose, Grögaard, Mr. Wærenskjold, and others, agreed to furnish him the sum of $300. Reierson accepted this offer, although the amount was not sufficient to pay his expenses. In the summer of 1843, he left Norway by way of Havre, in France, for New Orleans, whence he proceeded to Illinois and Wisconsin. After visiting the

Norwegian settlements, he wrote a book, the truthfulness of which was attested by Hans Gasman and Rev. Unonius and many others, and sent it to Norway. On this journey, we find him writing a long letter to Hans Gasman in Pine Lake, December 16, 1843. Later on, he went to Texas, which was at that time an independent republic. In a letter written by Reierson, and dated Cincinnati, March 19, 1844, it appears that from Natchitoches, in Louisiana, he had gone by stage to San Augustine, in Texas, and thence to Austin, the capital. Congress was in session there at the time, and Reierson was presented to the governor, Sam Houston, who took a deep interest in getting Norwegian emigrants to choose Texas for their new home. After a sojourn of six days in Austin, he traveled through the towns of Bastrop and Reutersville, to the town of Washington, on the Brazos river, and then proceeded to Houston and Galveston, where he arrived March 7, whence he took a steamer to Cincinnati, Ohio, where he wrote the letter above referred to. After his return to Norway, he published his famous book, the Pathfinder (Veiviseren), of which one copy was given to each one of those who had contributed to the fund of $300. Before departing from Norway,

he began in company with his brother Christian, to publish *Norway and America*, of which three volumes appeared. In April, 1845, Reierson went with a ship from Lillesand, in company with C. Grögaard and S. Nielson, to Havre, where they met Reierson's father, his oldest sister Gina, and his brother Gerhard, who had arrived by a vessel from Arendal. From Havre they sailed in two different American ships to New Orleans. In New Orleans the father, Ole Reierson, bought a land certificate on 1,446 acres of land in Texas, and from the Texan consul, in New Orleans, they received a letter of recommendation to Dr. Starn in Nacogdoches, the oldest town in Texas. From New Orleans, they went by steamer to Natchitoches, whence John Reinert Reierson, his father and sister, Gina, proceeded to Nacogdoches; but G. Reierson, Grögaard, and Nielson continued their journey to Shreveport, and thence to Marshall. They arrived in Nacogdoches, the fourth of July, and as there was a celebration in honor of the day, they were invited, and received much attention. In Nacogdoches, Reierson found a German merchant, by name Hoya, and a Slesvigian, by name G. Bondis, also a merchant, and these were very kind to him as well as to the Norwegians, who came

in later years. Hoya went with Reierson to Dr. Starn, who in turn went with him to the land-office, to look up the certificate which his father had bought, and offered to find a surveyor on whom he could depend.

In the autumn they went out to look for land, and they located where we now have the settlement called Brownsboro, and this was the *beginning* of the first Norwegian settlement in Texas. They gave it the name of Normandy, but this was afterwards changed for some reason or other, to Brownsboro.

After helping his father to buy the necessary cattle, and getting an American to build a log house for his family, Reierson went to New Orleans to meet his wife and children, his mother and his sister Gina, who had come by another ship from Christiansand to Havre, and thence on to New Orleans. Of this journey, Oscar Reierson, who is a son of J. R. Reierson, and now cashier of a bank in Key West, Florida, writes:

"My mother with myself, John, Carl, Christian and infant daughter Henriette, took sailing vessel from Christiansand late in the summer of 1845, proceeding to Havre de Grace, France, with grandmother and Gina. At Havre we remained ten days, and then

boarded the sailing vessel "Magnolia," with a number of other Norwegian families bound for New Orleans, Louisiana. On the voyage, little Henriette died, and was consigned to the waves.

"We took lodging in New Orleans, remaining there several months. The Grögaards, too, were there. After a time, uncle Larson came there from Shreveport, and later, father. We proceeded to Shreveport, up Red river on a very small steamboat. Water was very low and no passage over the falls at Alexandria. A week was spent before they succeeded in winding our little boat over the falls by hawsers fastened to trees up the river bank, and the capstan worked on the boat. Slowly we went up the river. Seven miles above Natchitoches, a little after dark, the boat ran on a snag. We all got in a canebrake. The boat was lost; wet provisions were fished out of the boat's cargo, diving for which to attach a rope or hook to barrel or bales, father was nearly drowned, being hauled up unconscious after having gone down successfully several times. No chance to get away, until rain above should swell the river, so that boats could ascend. This lasted two weeks, during which, muddy river water was our only drink, and we were

exposed to rains, etc. All our movable effects except some light boxes or trunks, were lost in the wreck. At Shreveport, our means being slender, we lived in a cabin, we boys all down with diarrhoea, and I with measles in addition. For weeks I was not able to turn in bed. A Dr. Black was in attendance. I was delirious much of the time. One evening, Dr. Black, with other physicians examined me with father and mother at the bedside. They decided that I could not live through the night, that I was already dying, my extremities growing cold. This was in the winter of 1846. Now it is 1894, and I am not dead yet, and I have had but little faith in the medical art since that time. The doctors left. Father heated bricks and rocks which were rolled in carpets and blankets. These were piled up around me, and in this way my life was doubtless saved. I remember this as distinctly as if it had occurred but yesterday. Later we moved, for a time, to a better house on the Bayou above the town, where boarders were taken. Here Carl died. It was spring (1846), when Carl and I a few days before his death, were out picking flowers, and my wrist was dislocated by a rail falling on it. Some time after that we were hauled in a wagon with our little plunder into

Texas, some three miles from what became later the town of Mount Enterprise, in Rush county. Charles Vincent had a little country store, and we lived in a Gin House. Father had met Vincent in Shreveport and had been helped by him. We children were fearfully weak, but we recuperated at the Gin House, where we got an abundance of buttermilk. We were there for some time before we were hauled up to father's house in the Brownsboro settlement in 1846. Grandmother and Gina, with Lasson, left us when we got to Shreveport."

I reproduce the above letter, partly because it bears directly on the life of Johan R. Reierson, and partly because it shows us vividly, what troubles and difficulties our early Norwegian immigrants had to contend with. Reierson's experiences are a fair sample.

A few Norwegians and a Danish family were added to the Brownsboro settlement about Christmas, 1846, and settled near the Reiersons; but the next year, 1847, they all became sick and some of them died.

About New Year's, 1848, Reierson, with his family, moved to Four Mile Prairie, and there he founded the little town of Prairieville. After the death of his first wife, he married

the widow of his brother Christian. Her maiden name was Ouline Jacobine Orbek, and she was a daughter of a merchant in Lillesand, in Norway. By his second wife he had no children. Of his children by his first wife, three are living, viz.: 1. Oscar, the writer of the above letter. 2. John, who owns a large hotel in Kaufman, Texas; and 3. Christian, who lives in Indian Territory. The first two married American wives. Johan Reinert Reierson died at Prairieville, September 6, 1864, and there his widow still resides. For these facts in regard to the founder of the first Norwegian settlement in Texas, I am mainly indebted to that intelligent and kind old lady, **Elise Wærenskjold.**

XXVI.

Elise Wærenskjold.

Those who went with Reierson from Norway in 1845, were, besides those already named, several peasants from Sætersdal. In New Orleans, the Sæterdalians were frightened from proceeding to Texas, and went to the Norwegian settlements in the northern states.

When the name, Normandy, was dropped, and Brownsboro substituted, I have not learned, but it must have been very soon after the founding of the settlement.

The Norwegians who arrived Christmas, 1840, were from Ombli Parish in Norway. The year 1847, when Reierson moved to Four Mile Prairie, and founded Prairieville, marks the foundation of the second Norwegian settlement in Texas. This second settlement soon received accretions both from Brownsboro and from Norway.

There being considerable sickness in the early days of both these settlements, many of the settlers removed to Bosque county, where the *third* Norwegian settlement in Texas was started, and which is at present, the largest and most flourishing Norwegian settlement in the state of Texas. Of the starting of the Bosque settlement, I shall give some account, further on. Mrs. Elise Wærenskjold spent forty-six years of her life at Four Mile Prairie.

In the winter 1853--1854, the first Norwegian Lutheran church was built at Four Mile Prairie, and the first Norwegian minister came there from Norway in 1854. In 1894, there were nineteen Norwegian families in that settlement.

In 1853, the wife of Dean Fredriksen wrote to Mrs. Wærenskjold, that her son, Emil Frederiksen, a young candidate in theology, desired to go to Texas as a minister, and the offer was accepted by the Norwegians in Brownsboro and on Four Mile Prairie. Emil Frederiksen came in 1854, and served these congregations as their pastor for three years, and he also visited Bosque county, where the third Norwegian settlement in Texas had been started.

Before this minister came, either Wilhelm Wærenskjold, or another man who had been a school teacher in Norway, baptized the children that were born, according to the Norwegian Lutheran ritual (Mrs. Wærenskjold had with her her father's ritual), buried the dead and conducted a Sunday school. Mr. Wærenskjold also organized a temperance society at Four Mile Prairie. Mrs. Wærenskjold writes me that they received visits from Elling Eielsen, and that they were pleased with his zeal for the cause of Christianity and morality.

Both the first settlements founded by Reierson were at that time in Henderson county, the county seat of which was Buffalo, a little town on Trinity river, but this town is long since abandoned. Henderson county is divided; but the oldest settlement, Brownsboro, is still

in Henderson county, while Four Mile Prairie was divided so that half of the settlement is in Van Zandt and the other half in Kaufman county. Mrs. Wærenskjold's home was in Van Zandt county, and Reierson's in Kaufman county.

The majority of the Norwegians in Texas are from Hedemarken. The first two who came from there at the instigation of Andreas Gjæstvang, Postmaster in Löiten, Hedemarken, were an old school teacher, Engelhoug, and an elderly farmer, Knud Olson. The latter was a capable workman, and an honest man, and his daughter and her children are now living in comfortable circumstances in Bosque county.

The Postmaster Gjæstvang, in Löiten, took the paper published by Reinert and Christian Reierson, but when Christian also emigrated to America in 1846, nobody cared to be the publisher of so dangerous a paper, which induced people to emigrate. In order that the paper should not suspend, Mrs. Wærenskjold assumed the responsibilities of publisher. One day Mr. Gjæstvang came to Christiania, to talk with the publisher, and was not a little surprised when he found that C. Tvede was a woman, and from that time, Gjæstvang and Mrs. Wærenskjold became friends and corres-

pondents. Some time after Mrs. Warenskjold had settled in Texas, Hamar *Budstikke*, which seized every bad report about America with avidity, had made a valuable discovery in a French romance, being a description of travel in Texas. Gjæstvang took the trouble of copying all this nonsense and sent it to Mrs. Wærenskjold in Texas, requesting her to make a reply to it. Mrs. Wærenskjold, with the aid of John Nordboe, and Kleng Peerson made the necessary corrections, and Mr. Wærenskjold also wrote an article on the same subject. All Mrs. Wærenskjold's article, with quotations from John Nordboe and Kleng Peerson, and Mr. Wærenskjold's article, were first published in the Hamar *Budstikke*, and afterwards in pamphlet form, and had a far-reaching influence on the Norwegian emigration to Texas.

The Wærenskjold's home became a trysting-place for all Norwegian immigrants to Texas, and many are the stories told about the hospitality of that family.

Mrs. Elise Wærenskjold is a notable person in Norwegian American history. She was always busy with her pen, and many are the valuable articles written from time to time in the Scandinavian press on both sides of the Atlantic.

Her maiden name was Tvede, and she was born in Vestre Moland, in Norway, where her father was a minister (Provst), February 19, 1815. Her mother died in 1839, and that same year she married the far-famed Svend Foyen, who by his success in the whaling industry, became one of the wealthiest and most celebrated men of Norway. As their views on many subjects did not harmonize, they agreed to separate, and they parted as friends. Though not again married, she came to Texas in company with the man who was to be her second husband, in 1847. She first lived a short time with Christian Grögaard's widow, in Nacogdoches. C. Grögaard and his two youngest children had died. In the beginning of October, 1847, she came to the Normandy settlement, which was afterwards called Brownsboro. There were fifteen Norwegian families in that settlement when she arrived there, but the most of them were living on low lands and were sick and despondent. Mrs. Wærenskjold, still Mrs. Foyen, bought land on Four Mile Prairie in 1848, and about that time, she married Wilhelm Wærenskjold. With him she lived a very happy life, but unfortunately, he was assassinated during the civil war, on account of his sympathy for the North. With

Mr. Wærenskjold, she had two sons, Nils, who now occupies the old homestead at Prairieville, and Otto, who for some time past has resided at Hamilton, Hamilton county. Both sons are married to American ladies.

Just as I had finished writing the above sketch of this dear old lady, I was startled by the information that she had died January 22, 1895, only two weeks ago. I recently had a letter from her, in which she tells me that she had returned from a long journey visiting old friends, and that she now had settled down in Hamilton, to remain there until her dying day. She was eighty years old, but a well preserved woman. Mrs. Wærenskjold was an eminent personality. No other Norwegian in Texas was better known than she. She took the deepest interest in all things both in Europe and in America. In her last letter to me, she discussed the death of Svend Foyen, which occurred recently in Norway. She was busy writing the history of the Norwegian settlements in Texas, but a few days before she died, she wrote to her good friend, Mr. O. Canuteson, of Waco, Texas, and complained that she was sick and said she did not think she would be able to complete her history. It is

to be hoped that some intelligent person will secure her manuscript, and make the necessary additions for publication. Although I never had the good fortune of meeting Mrs. Wærenskjold, my correspondence with her caused me to esteem most highly, this gifted, scholarly, kind, brave and noble woman.

XXVII.

Ole Canuteson.

In 1850, Ole Canuteson and his father Knud Knudson, came to his uncle, Halvor Knudson, in the Fox River settlement. His mother died from cholera on the way from Chicago to Ottawa. In the Fox River settlement, they found Kleng Peerson, just back from a trip to Texas, and on his advice and promise to accompany them, they concluded to go to Texas. They went to Dallas county and remained there three years, near where Johan Nordboe was then living. No Norwegian settlement was founded there. In 1853, they went to Bosque county, and Kleng Peerson went with them not as a leader this time, but as a fol-

lower, as he was now too old to lead in settlement enterprises.

When Canuteson and his party came to Texas in the fall of 1850, they stopped a while at Nordboe's. He lived on a high prairie, five miles south of Dallas. He had then lived there twelve years, and his houses already looked old. Nordboe came to Texas at a time when the state gave one section of land to each married man and half a section to each one of his children. As has been heretofore shown, Johan Nordboe had availed himself of this liberality on the part of Texas. He got 640 acres for himself, and 320 for each one of his three sons, who came with him, and also 320 acres for the married daughter who still lived in Illinois. In 1850, this daughter in Illinois had died, and John, one of the sons of Johan Nordboe, came to Illinois to fetch the children. John and these children then joined Kleng Peerson and the Canutesons, and they all went together to Texas, where Nordboe's grandchildren received the inheritance of their deceased mother.

The Canutesons bought land five miles south from Johan Nordboe, that is to say, ten miles south of Dallas. There they lived three years and then moved to Bosque county.

The third Norwegian settlement in Texas was in Bosque county. It was founded by Ole Canuteson in the fall of 1853, and it soon became the largest in the state. The postoffice was Norman Hill, and Ole Canuteson was the postmaster from its beginning until he moved to Waco. The confederate government kept him in office during the war, and when the rebellion had ended the postoffice department at Washington did not disturb him. He spent three years in Dallas county, fifteen years in Bosque county, and since 1868 he has resided at Waco, where he owns the Riverside foundry and machine shop. He is a very intelligent and well read man, and he has been of very great help to me in supplying me with information concerning Kleng Peerson and Johan Nordboe, both of whom he knew very intimately, and he has given me many valuable facts regarding the early settlements in Texas. The Norwegian settlement in Bosque county now contains about 2,000 people. They have a Norwegian Lutheran church, and a Norwegian Lutheran minister resides among them.

As the founder of the largest and most prosperous Norwegian settlement in Texas, Ole Canuteson deserves more than a passing notice. I am not able to do justice to his interesting

and important career in this meager sketch of the Norwegians in Texas, but I am happy to be able to give a few additional facts in regard to him.

Ole Canuteson was born September 4, 1832, on the island of Karmö (Karmt), an island which abounds in monuments of antiquity, on the farm Nordstokke, near Kobbervig, in the parish of the famous Augsvaldsnæs in Stavanger Amt. One of his uncles, Halvor Knudson, emigrated to America so early that he settled in the Fox River settlement about the same time as Gjert Gregoriuson Hovland, and became his neighbor. A younger uncle, Jens, emigrated somewhat later in company with a fiddler, Sjur Dåle, who afterwards became a Mormon.

When Kleng Peerson visited Norway in 1842, he brought with him many letters from America to Ole Canuteson's father and to others. In 1850 his parents resolved to go to America, and he took passage in the Köhler brig, commanded by Capt. Westergaard. In this same ship came Rev. A. C. Preus with his wife, whose maiden name was Engel Bruun. Captain Westergaard also had his wife with him on board. The second mate was a son of the Rev. Kauring, of Tarvestad. Six weeks

after leaving Stavanger they landed in New York. On the propeller, between Buffalo and Chicago, cholera attacked the passengers, and a Norwegian woman died and was buried on an island in the straits of Mackinac.

As has been seen in earlier pages of this volume, cholera had raged fearfully both in the Fox River settlement and in Muskego in the summer of 1849, and in 1850 the epidemic returned claiming many victims. Many of those who landed in Milwaukee were sick, and a number of them died after reaching their respective settlements in Wisconsin. Cholera committed great depredations on Koshkonong in 1850, and claimed my father and brother as its victims.

When the rest of the immigrants landed in Chicago all were apparently well, but on board the canal-boat which carried them to Ottawa, the dreadful disease made its appearance, and among those who died was Ole Canuteson's mother. When the people in the Fox River settlement heard of the cholera they were panic-stricken and did not dare to receive the new-comers. Finally the Canutesons received shelter in a school-house, and fortunately cholera did not make its appearance again. Land was at that time selling in La Salle county for ten dollars an acre. Ole Canuteson's father

had only five hundred dollars, and did not dare to run in debt for a farm and stock and implements, and he contemplated going to Iowa, where land was to be had for less money. In the meantime they had left the school-house and were living at the house of Halvor Knudson, and while they were considering what was best to do, Kleng Peerson came there one day. He had just returned from a journey to Texas, and he was chock full of stories of that wonderland. He said land could be bought in Dallas county, Texas, with as deep and as black soil as that of Illinois for fifty cents per acre, and he told the truth. The result was that they resolved to take Kleng Peerson's advice, and he agreed to go with them. In the midst of these discussions as to where to locate, Ole Canuteson, young as he was, married a young lady of his own age, Miss Ellen Maline Gunderson, a girl who also had come from the famous Karmö.

John, one of Johan Nordboe's sons, had also returned from Texas to bring to their grandparents three children left by a daughter of Johan Nordboe. The mother had died in the Fox River settlement or in Lee county near Leland. The result was that Kleng Peerson, Ole Canuteson and his young wife and his

father, and John Nordboe and his sister's children, formed a party and set out for Texas. They went by canal-boat from Ottawa to La Salle, thence by steamer to St. Louis, thence by another steamer to New Orleans, and then by still another steamer to Shreveport. In New Orleans they were joined by two other Norwegians from Throndhjem. They got a wagon to haul the children and the baggage to a little town called Greenwood, sixteen miles on the way to Dallas. There they rented a house, and in it they left Mrs. Canuteson and the Nordboe children, and the rest of the party footed it to Dallas. Ole Canuteson, John Nordboe and the two men from Throndhjem took the shortest route, while Kleng Peerson and Ole Canuteson's father took a longer route as they desired to visit the Norwegian settlements in east Texas. Ole Canuteson and his comrades camped out at night, though it was the month of December, and after eight days' travel they reached Johan Nordboe's home, having gone a distance of 200 miles. Kleng Peerson had instructed them not to locate in the Norwegian settlements east of Trinity river under any circumstances, and they obeyed him. Then John Nordboe hitched a yoke of large oxen to a light wagon and went after Ole

Canuteson's wife and the three children that he was to bring to their grandparents. By the time they all got united again it was Christmas. The Canutesons bought 320 acres of land from a man who had received 640 acres from the state for living on it. The price was fifty cents per acre, and it was located ten miles south of Dallas. In Dallas there were then only a few houses along the river. They broke twenty acres, and hauled rails six miles to fence them in with. They built a tolerably good house, sawing the planks for it themselves with a whipsaw.

In 1852 the Texas legislature again resolved to donate land to actual settlers who had not already received land in that way. Now it was the Canutesons' turn to get land without paying for it, and this opportunity must not be neglected. In August, 1853, Ole Canuteson and one of his American neighbors left Dallas to look for land. Vacant land was found by them near Bosque river, a tributary of the Brazas. The county was afterwards organized as Bosque county. This land suited them, and Ole Canuteson selected about 300 acres for himself and a similar amount for his father. Later many families came there from the other Norwegian settlements, all getting land for

nothing or buying it for a small price from those who had homesteads. The Canutesons sold their land in Dallas and moved to Bosque, and Kleng Peerson went with them as he was now, so to speak, one of the family. Ole Canuteson's father had married in the meantime a girl from the Brownsboro settlement in Henderson county. The next year a ship from Arendal in Norway brought a lot of emigrants, and many of them came direct to Bosque.

The following persons have been mentioned to me as the first Norwegian settlers in Bosque county, Texas: Ole Canuteson, with family; Canute Canuteson; Ole Peerson; Kleng Peerson, single; Carl Qvastad, with family; Jens Ringnes; Jens Jenson; Mrs. Annie Bronstad; Ole Ween, single; Andrew Bretten, single, the first Norwegian that died in the settlement; Andrew Huse, single.

Among later-comers to Bosque county are mentioned Henrik Dahl, with family; B. E. Swenson; O. Calwick; O. Olson; O. Johnson; P. Poulson.

Many left the older settlements in Texas and came to Bosque, and others came either direct from Norway or from Illinois, and before many years it became the largest Norwegian settle-

ment in Texas, which it still is. It is to be said with emphasis in regard to the Norwegian settlers in Texas that they made very poor rebels during the civil war, but of course they had to be discreet, witness the fate of Mr. Wærenskjold. Mr. and Mrs. O. Canuteson have had six children, of which five are living, four daughters and one son. The daughters are all married, and the son is still single.

XXVIII.

Resume.

The first Norwegian to settle in Texas was Johan Nordboe.

The father of Norwegian immigration to Texas and the founder of the first two settlements was Johan Reinert Reierson.

The founder of the third, the largest and most prosperous settlement in Texas was O. Canuteson.

The first Norwegian Lutheran church was built in Texas in the winter of 1853--1854.

Emil Frederiksen was the first Norwegian Lutheran minister in Texas, and he came there in 1854.

XXIX.

RELIGIOUS WORK AMONG THE NORWEGIANS IN AMERICA DOWN TO THE YEAR 1845.

Introductory.

To present a correct statement of the religious work done among the Norwegian immigrants from 1825 to 1845 is exceedingly difficult. We have scarcely any records to guide us, and the most of those living at the time are either dead or if living were too young to grasp and remember what was going on. This much is certain that there was nothing that could be called a Norwegian Lutheran congregation or minister in America before 1843.

Many of those who came in the sloop and some of those who came later were Quakers. Instead of organizing themselves separately they naturally attached themselves to American Quaker societies and worshipped with them. This I know was the case with Lars Larson i Jeilane in Rochester, with Ingebret Larson Narvig in Michigan, and with the Ros-

sadals and Olsons in the Fox River settlement. Some of the early Norwegian immigrants had no profound religious convictions, and might properly be called agnostics. I have myself known a considerable number both of the sloopers and of those who came in 1836 and in 1837, who were not only destitute of religious convictions, but who seemed utterly to despise and were fond of ridiculing ministers, churches, the Bible and religious people. I could mention many of these by name, but I forbear. It seems that some of these agnostics had acquired their hostility to the church and to religion before they emigrated from Norway. They merely became louder and more outspoken in their ridicule and denunciations after they got their feet on the free soil of America.

But still the great majority of these early immigrants were devoted to religion. Many were Lutherans, and among these a considerable number were so-called Readers or Haugians. Of the religious aspect of the colony in Kendall, New York, I know but little. They had no church or school of their own, and no minister. I know only from hearsay that those among them who were religiously inclined held devotional exercises in their fam-

ilies, and on Sundays several families would get together for worship.

I am credibly informed that Björn Hatlestad, who died about fifteen years ago on Odd Himle's farm in Dane county, came to America about the year 1836, and that he held religious services for a time after his arrival in the Kendall settlement. There is but little doubt that Ole Olson Hetletvedt, who came in the sloop, also held religious services in the Kendall settlement, and so it appears that these two, Hetletvedt and Hatlestad, were the first to preach and conduct religious services among the Norwegian immigrants. Both of course belonged to the Haugian branch of the Lutheran church.

In 1834 and 1835 a large number of the Kendall settlers moved west to Illinois, and there did not remain enough of the colony to maintain any distinct church organization.

In the Fox River settlement all was chaos and confusion during the early days of the colony. Some of the Norwegians there were Quakers, others Baptists, others Presbyterians, others Methodists, others Lutherans, others Mormons, and some were free-thinkers, all in inextricable disorder.

XXX.

The Mormons.

The Mormons, or more properly, the church of the Latter Day Saints, secured a considerable following among the Norwegians in La Salle county. There Gudmund Haugaas became a high priest of the order of Melchizedek. His son Thomas succeeded him as a minister in the church of Latter Day Saints and is still preaching to a congregation of about one hundred and forty members. A man by the name of Jörgen Pederson, who had been a school teacher in Norway, was chosen by the Haugians to administer the sacraments. At one time he administered the Lord's Supper in the Indian Creek settlement, which was started near Leland in 1836. It was doubtless the intention that Jörgen Pederson was to be ordained and be regularly authorized to administer the sacraments, but he soon afterwards joined the church of Latter Day Saints. The Haugians lost another conspicuous and sturdy leader in Ole Heier. He was from Tin in Thelemarken, where his name had been Ole

Olson Omdal. In Thelemarken he was regarded as a pious Reader, and had conducted Haugian meetings, and when he first came to the Fox River settlement he was active in holding gospel meetings in the interest of the Haugians. He is said to have been of a most winning personality and to have possessed remarkable gifts as a speaker, but he, too, joined the church of Latter Day Saints and was made first an elder and then a bishop in that organization. When the church moved to Utah, Heier remained in Illinois, and finally joined the Close Communion Baptists, and preached for them some years. In 1868 he went to Iowa, and died there in 1873 as heretofore stated. His son writes me: "Soon after coming to America, my father (Ole Olson Heier) was taken in by the Mormon faith, but on a visit to Nauvoo, Ill., where the Mormons were preparing to emigrate to the west, he was one of the first to get his eyes open to the terrible work of the church he had espoused. He then left the Mormon church, joined the Baptist church and held meetings as a layman." One of his old acquaintances writes me that Ole Heier belonged to seven different churches, but of course this is an exaggeration. All I can

make out is three, or if we count the Readers as distinct from the Lutherans, four.

Knud Peterson was one of the seventy disciples of the church of Latter Day Saints, who, as an Evangelist, did service as an itinerant preacher. Gudmund Haugaas and Knud Peterson visited Koshkonong while Dietrichson was pastor there. They were well treated by Dietrichson at his house. This Knud Peterson I have been able to trace, as will be seen, in an earlier part of this volume.

He married Sarah A., a daughter of the slooper, Cornelius Nelson Hersdal, and moved to Salt Lake City in 1849. Under date of January 20, 1895, Mrs. Bishop Peterson writes:

"In 1849 I left all that was near and dear to me and cast my lot with a people commonly called Mormons. On July 2 of that year I married Canute Peterson, and we at once went to Utah. We were five months crossing the plains and deserts and the Rocky mountains. We located in Salt Lake City, which was only a small village at that time."

Having learned that Sarah, the daughter of a slooper, was the wife of the bishop of Ephraim, and that Bishop Canute Peterson was the same person as Knud Peterson, who,

in company with Gudmund Haugaas, proclaimed Mormonism on our dear old Koshkonong, and was entertained by Rev. Dietrichson in 1845, I concluded that he, too, must be one of our pioneers to be sketched in this volume, and accordingly I wrote to his wife for more information in regard to his life. In reply I received the following interesting letter dated March 9, 1895. It throws much light upon the work done by the Mormons among the Scandinavians.

"Ephraim, March 9, 1895.

"Rasmus B. Anderson, Esq.,

"Dear Sir: As you requested me to write about my husband I will try to give you a few facts. He is still living and in good health. He was born in Eidsfjord, Hardanger, Norway, May 13, 1824, and emigrated with his parents in 1837. They settled in La Salle county, Ill. My husband's father died in 1838, and his mother in 1848. He was married in 1849, emigrating to Utah the same year. He resided in Salt Lake City for eighteen months, and there our first child, Peter Cornelius Peterson, was born June 22, 1850, being the first Norwegian male child born in Utah. In July, 1850, my husband, with others, was called to settle the place now called Lehi, thirty miles south

of Salt Lake City, where the great sugar factory was built, which last year produced between five and six million pounds of first class sugar. The Lehi sugar took the first prize at the world's fair in Chicago. In 1852 my husband was called to take a mission in Norway. He remained in Norway four years, and returned in 1856. He visited nearly all the principal cities in Norway, and brought with him about 600 Scandinavian immigrants. At that time they were obliged to cross the plains with teams.

"We lived in Lehi until 1867, when my husband was called to go to Sanpete, and we now reside at Ephraim, one hundred miles south of Lehi. At this time the Indians had become very hostile, and war was raging between them and the settlers. Many people were killed, and the most of their cattle and horses were either stolen or killed. Under these trying circumstances Mr. Peterson was called to take the lead as bishop of this place. A bishop with us takes the lead in temporal as well as in spiritual affairs. The first thing he did was to send teams and guards to bring the settlers from the smaller settlements, where they were not able to protect themselves. A fort was built of stone, and men were put on guard to

protect the people. From that time but few people were killed, and scarcely any cattle were stolen. In one of the raids our son Peter with others went up in the mountains to recover some horses, but the Indians lying in ambush shot at the men. Our son had his horse shot from under him, and he and his men were glad to get back with their scalps.

"This was continued a little over two years, but finally the Indians saw that they were outgeneraled. Ten of their chiefs came down from the mountains and stopped in front of our gate. We were very much surprised, not knowing their intentions. My husband went out to meet them and asked them what they wanted. They dismounted, and said they wanted to talk. He invited them to come in and at once sent for two interpreters. After they had eaten a hearty dinner at our table, my husband asked them if they felt like fighting. They said 'No!' they felt good and wanted to smoke a pipe of peace. After this matters were talked over and an agreement of peace was made, which has not been broken since. My husband is now known among them as their 'White Father.' Their chiefs frequently come to visit us. Brigham Young instructed my husband to buy out a small settlement and

give it to the Indians. Brigham Young said 'it was cheaper to feed them than to fight them,' and we have found this statement to be true. The town given to the Indians is called Indianola, and is thirty-five miles from Ephraim.

"In 1871 my husband was called to go on a second mission to Scandinavia. He made his headquarters at Copenhagen. He visited nearly all the principal cities of Denmark, Sweden and Norway, holding conferences and meetings. While there he edited a semi-monthly periodical called *Skandinaviens Stjerne, Organ for de Sidste Dages Hellige.* He also published many tracts. He returned to Utah, July 28, 1873, with a large company of nearly one thousand Scandinavian immigrants.

"In 1877 he was called to preside as president over Sanpete county, which contains seventeen ecclesiastical wards, each one being presided over by one bishop with two counsellors and other officers. The population of this county is nearly 17,000. In 1878 my husband was chosen as second superintendent for the erection of the Manti Temple, which is located six and a half miles from our door. Eight years were spent in its construction, and it cost more than one million dollars. It is a beautiful

stone structure. Being built on the spur of a mountain, its position is very commanding and imposing. It has been built by voluntary contributions. My husband has three times been a member of the legislature, and he has filled many other offices of trust.

"I send you a copy of the *Salt Lake Tribune* for the 4th inst. In it you will find portraits and biographies of all the members of the recent Constitutional Convention in Utah. Among them you will find A. S. Anderson, a grandson of the slooper, Endre Dahl, and also A. C. Lund, who is my grandson.

"I taught school in the Fox River settlement in 1845 and 1846. Elling's meeting house was built before that time. I have often attended meeting there and remember him well. Myself and my husband were acquainted with your parents. They lived near by Endre Dahl, and at one time near my mother's. We knew your father by the name Björn Kvelve. Now, Mr. Anderson, I have written this to help you in preparing your history. It is a great pleasure to me if I can be of any service to you. Hoping to hear from you again, I remain,

"Yours respectfully,

"SARAH A. PETERSON."

While reading proof on the above, I received the following letter from Mrs. Peterson. It supplies a few additional facts concerning our earliest Norwegian settlers, and will be read with interest:

"Ephraim, April 17, 1895.

"Rasmus B. Anderson,

"Dear Sir: I hope you will pardon me for delaying so long. You wished to know about my teaching. Do you remember Middlepoint, where my mother lived? Your folks lived there, down by the old spring from which we all drank. Some folks used to come half a mile to get water, as good water was very scarce in the summer season. In '45-'46 I taught one mile and a half south, and in '47 one mile and a half north of our home; I never thought of that coming into history. It did not require much education to teach those country schools. I had some scholars who were from twenty to forty years old. They came to learn the English language.

"I am the second Norwegian born in America. My cousin, Susan Nelson, was the first; her name is now Danielson, and she is living in Illinois. Betsy Haugaas was the third one, being three weeks younger than myself. If I knew of anything that would help you in your

history, I would gladly tell you. Mother said that after they found that cask of wine, they would make mush and use the wine for water and milk to eat with it. My oldest daughter, Apostle A. H. Lund's wife, was the first Norwegian female child born in Lehi, Utah county.

"My husband sends his kind regards.

"Yours truly,

"SARAH A PETERSON."

This took us far beyond the year 1845, but it revealed to us the fate of the descendants of sloopers and of early pioneers in far-off Utah, and it brought to light a phase of Scandinavian American history which, I dare say, is but little known to the majority of my readers.

XXXI.

Ole Olson Hetletvedt and Others.

Hans Valder was also a Baptist preacher, and his field was mainly in La Salle county and the immediate vicinity. He was ordained by a council of five or six ministers, and preached occasionally for four or five years,

but a radical change took place in his mind on the subject of religion and he quit preaching about 1850, that is, a couple of years before he went to Minnesota, and has not preached since.

The first to conduct Lutheran religious services among the Norwegians in America in this century was, I believe, Ole Olson Hetletvedt. He dropped the name, Hetletvedt, and called himself simply Ole Olson. He was a farmer's son from the northern part of Stavanger Amt in Norway. He came, as we have seen, in the sloop, settled in Kendall and then went to Niagara Falls, where he worked in a paper mill, and married Miss Chamberlain. I have no doubt that he conducted religious services in the Kendall settlement, but I have no information on that point. But in the Fox River settlement he was the first to gather the people to hear the word of God according to Haugian custom. He is described as a mild-tempered, earnest Christian, who traveled extensively in all the Norwegian settlements, and he also acted as agent for the American Bible society. He had been a school teacher before he left Norway, and hence he was tolerably well educated. As Bible agent and lay preacher he visited the Norwegian settlements in Illinois, Wisconsin and Iowa. His nephew,

Ole Olson Hetletvedt, now of Norway, Benton county, Iowa, writes me that he heard his uncle preach in Middlepoint (Mission, La Salle county) in 1845.

Among other Lutheran laymen who preached before the arrival of Clausen or Dietrichson, Rev. O. J. Hatlestad, in his book published in 1887, mentions Endre and Herman Osmundson Aaragerbö, Kleng Skaar, Even Heg, Björn Hatlestad, Aslak Aae, Peder Asbjörnson Mehus and John Brakestad. Of course there were others, but I have not been able to get at the details. Enough has been stated to show that while many scoffed at religion, there still was a considerable number who desired to preserve the faith of their fathers, and did the best they could to maintain religious services more or less regularly and more or less successfully.

XXXII.

Elling Eielsen.

After this brief notice of the meek and pious Ole Olson Hetletvedt, of the bold Jörgen Pederson, of the eloquent Ole Heier, of the sturdy Knud Peterson, and the picturesque Gudmund

Haugaas, we may now pass to the consideration of one who became more far-famed than all of them together, and that is Elling Eielsen. Elling Eielsen Sunve was born on the farm Sunve in Voss, September 17, 1804. As a young man he became a Haugian in Norway, and began to work as a lay preacher. He traveled extensively in Norway, Sweden and Denmark before his emigration to America, which took place in 1839 in the same ship with Sören Bache and Johannes Johannesen. On his arrival in Chicago in the autumn of 1839, he preached his first sermon in America, and then proceeded to Fox River. He seems to have had his headquarters during the first years of his activity partly in the Fox River settlement and partly in Muskego, Wis. In Muskego he married, as heretofore stated, Miss Sigri Nilson, on the 3d of July, 1843. During his long life he visited almost every Norwegian community in the Northwest and also made journeys to Missouri and Texas. In 1842 we find him putting up a meeting house in Norway, La Salle county, Illinois. This *meeting house*, the first house built by Norwegians in America in this century for divine worship, was erected on land owned by Elling Eielsen. It was one story and an attic. The ground

floor consisted of two rooms, occupied as a dwelling by Eielsen, while the attic was a sort of hall used for devotional meetings. The building was paid for mainly, if not wholly, by Elling Eielsen himself. It would be improper to call this half dwelling and half meeting house a church.

Thomas Orstad, of Strand, Iowa, in writing to me about it calls it a *Forsamlingshus*, that is, a house for meetings. He says it was built of white oak logs, constructed in Norwegian fashion. It was 24 feet long, 16 feet wide and 12 feet high. The lower story was fitted up for family use, and the upper story for church services. The shingles used for roofing this building were split out of blocks of native wood. The seats in the assembly hall consisted of planks made from the same kind of wood and resting on blocks of the same material. Mr. Orstad adds that there were also a few small windows. "For many years," says Mr. Orstad, "this was a place where those gathered who had any desire to hear the word of God." In course of time the congregation built a frame church, and what became of Elling Eielsen's meeting house I do not know. In the autumn of 1894 I visited the spot where this famous little edifice had stood on a little hill

near the present Norway, Ill. Old residents pointed out the site to me, but there was no trace of it visible. When I asked the citizens what became of the old meeting house, they shook their heads and said they did not know. Eielsen was an energetic traveler and a zealous preacher. His education was sadly defective, and he had no talent for organizing. He was in his element when he could tramp from place to place and gather the people to his gospel meetings. In order to be permitted to administer the holy sacraments he was requested by his friends to secure holy orders, and he was accordingly ordained by Rev. F. A. Hoffman, D. D., the pastor of a German Lutheran congregation at Duncan's Grove, twenty miles north of Chicago, October 3, 1843. Much has been written about the genuineness of Eielsen's ordination, but this is a subject which I do not care to discuss here.

After a long life of hard work Elling Eielsen died in Chicago, Ill., January 10, 1883, at 11:40 o'clock in the evening, and he was buried in the Graceland cemetery. I saw Elling Eielsen a few times, and once attended one of his religious meetings, but I failed to discover the secret of his great influence as a religious

worker. I remember he used the expression several times that he was only puttering in a small way ("eg bare putla saa smaat").

XXXIII.

John G. Smith, Ole Consulen, G. Unonius.

In 1841 a Swede came to Koshkonong and pretended to be both minister and physician. His name was John Smith. Hatlestad says that "he claimed to be a Lutheran clergyman and to have been the king's chaplain in Stockholm; that he had an attractive personality and a smooth tongue, and thereby secured much confidence among the simple-hearted and shepherdless Norwegians, but that he after a time became known in his true character." When he could no longer deceive people as a preacher, he pretended for a time to be a doctor, but he did not succeed in this either very long. He afterwards tried to preach in Chicago, but here, too, he was soon found out, and his occupation came to an end. Rev. J. W. C. Dietrichson calls this man "the "Swede John G. Smith," and says he was "a Baptist," and I suppose the truth of the mat-

ter is that he first pretended to be a Lutheran and then joined the Baptist church. He was married to a sister of Gunnul Olson Vindeg, but his wife died before John G. Smith left Koshkonong.

Johan Reinert Reierson says of John Smith: "A Swede who calls himself Smith, and pretends to be a minister, has settled here and has preached sermons for the new settlers, but his conduct is not such as to inspire respect."

Some of my readers will remember Ole "Consulen." His name was Ole Hanson, but he was generally called "Consulen," because he pretended to be a lawyer (counsellor), and I believe he actually appeared in court a few times as an attorney. He was, however, chiefly known as an itinerant Methodist lay preacher. He seems to have made his headquarters on Rock Prairie and at Highland, Wis. He married a widow from Primrose, Dane county, and died, so far as I can learn, many years ago at Highland, Wis.

In an earlier portion of this work I have made a brief statement of a settlement at Pine Lake, founded in 1841 by some Swedes, among whom was a young student by name G. Unonius. Mr. Unonius entered the Episcopal

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church as a minister, and organized a congregation at Pine Lake. As shown heretofore, Hans Gasman and his friends from Skien settled here in 1843, and the Norwegians united with the Swedes and became members of the Episcopal church, choosing G. Unonius as their pastor. In this settlement there was a wealthy Dane by name Fribert and a Swedish man of means by name Saint-Syr. A son of the latter is now a physician and druggist in Sheboygan. In 1843 this Pine Lake congregation had resolved to build a church on the west shore of the lake.

XXXIV.

C. L. Clausen.

I have now described briefly but still as comprehensively as I am able the religious work done among the Norwegians in America down to October 3, 1843, the date when Elling Eielsen was ordained by the Rev. Francis Allen Hoffman. I have shown how all the religious work down to that time was done by laymen, with the possible exception of the Swede, G. Unonius. Neither was he a theologian from

Sweden. At the Upsala university he had studied cameralistics or the science of state finance, and he took his course in theology at an Episcopal seminary in America. I have shown what a chaotic conflict there was on the part of both the people and their lay preachers, between regular Lutherans, Haugians, Baptists, Mormons, Methodists and the scoffers, and such a chaotic conflict was well calculated to produce scoffers. I have shown how a little meeting house was built by Elling and some of his friends at Norway, Ill.; how Elling himself was ordained, and how Mr. Gasman and other Norwegians had joined the Episcopal church at Pine Lake, Wis. And here I might end, as the year 1840 was the limit I first set for this volume, but I cannot resist the temptation of showing how a better day was dawning for the Norwegian Lutherans in America, and I shall, therefore, trespass on the patience of my readers, and carry my skeleton church history down to the summer of 1845.

Claus Lauritz Clausen was a Dane. He was born November 3, 1820, on the island of Ærö, Fyen Stift, in Denmark, and he died in Paulsbo, Washington, in 1892.

In 1841 he came to Norway to seek work in

the missionary field in South Africa, but he found that there did not seem to be an opening for him in that direction. Tollef O. Bache, the merchant in Drammen, whose son Sören, with Johannes Johannesen, had settled in Muskego, was anxious to send a teacher to America in order that his own grandchildren and other children growing up there might be properly instructed in the religion and language of their fathers. Tollef Bache's attention had been called to this young man, Clausen. A proposition was made and Clausen accepted. He first went to Denmark, and married Martha F. Rasmuson, and then proceeded to his new field of work in Muskego, where he arrived with his young wife in August, 1843.

After arriving in Muskego it seemed to him and to the people of Muskego that his services were more needed as a preacher than as a teacher, and accordingly he was called as preacher, duly examined by a German Lutheran minister by name L. F. E. Krause, and ordained by him on the 18th of October, 1843, just fifteen days after Elling Eielsen had been ordained. Clausen at once began to preach in Even Heg's barn, in the houses of the settlers and in school houses. On the second Sunday after Easter, 1844, he confirmed the

first class of children in Even Heg's barn. This was the first Norwegian Lutheran confirmation in America. In the fall of 1843 the congregation (sit venia verbo) decided to build a church. Heg gave the ground on the so-called Indian Mound, and here the church was built. Tollef Bache in Drammen contributed $400 to the church, and the building of it was begun early in 1844.

For a picture of this church edifice I am indebted to Mr. H. J. Ellertsen, of Wind Lake, Wis. In a letter to me, accompanying the picture, he says, "Enclosed I send you a drawing of the old Muskego church as it looked when it was built. It was built of oak logs hewed on both sides, six inches thick, and matched after the Norwegian fashion of building houses. On the inside the logs were dressed perfectly smooth and then fitted so close together that no mortar was used between them. Double doors in the front were made of black walnut. The pulpit was also made of walnut and was about seven feet from the floor. Galleries were built across the front and along both sides to about the middle of the church. These galleries were supported by six heavy columns turned out of solid walnut. In fact the church was pretty well fur-

nished inside. The erection of the church was commenced in the spring of 1844, and the dedication took place March 13, 1845. It is undoubtedly *the first Norwegian church built* in America."

In the meantime Mr. Clausen also visited other settlements, and he had been on Koshkonong and preached and administered the sacraments a couple of times before Dietrichson arrived there in September, 1844, the first time in the last week of May, 1844, when he preached near the present Utica. Rev. C. L. Clausen was for many years a warm personal friend of mine, and I learned to admire his personal magnetism, his keen intelligence, his vast amount of knowledge and his large heart.

XXXV.

The First Controversy Among the Norwegian Lutherans in America.

Before going any further I take the liberty of presenting here an account of what was undoubtedly the first controversy, and caused the first split among the Norwegian Lutherans in America. I have the facts from Hon. Gun-

nuf Tollefson, of Mount Horeb, Wis., a Haugian, who came from Bygland in Sætersdal, Norway, in 1843. It is interesting to note that he and his parents and brother and sisters were the first to emigrate from that part of Norway. He came directly to Muskego and there he and Rev. C. L. Clausen worked together, felling trees for the Muskego church. He chopped on one side of the tree and Clausen on the other. This illustrates the kind of stuff our early preachers were made of.

In the beginning Clausen and Eielsen held services together in Even Heg's barn, but it was not long before they got into trouble. Already in the fall of 1843 Rev. Clausen and some others prepared a document of charges against Elling, a document which was read publicly at a meeting in the barn.

The foundation of the complaint was as follows: A Stavanger family had died on Jefferson Prairie, in 1843, and had left a little five year old daughter. Before their death, they had requested Elling to take care of their child. Then there was in Yorkville, Racine county, an Irish Catholic family, who wanted to adopt the girl, and Elling left the child with them. Then Elling's friends said to him, "For God's sake, Elling, what have you done? How could

you give this little girl to Catholics?" Elling at once regretted what he had done, and went to the Irish family and asked to get the girl back. Her adopted parents had dressed the child nicely. They had no children of their own, and refused to give up the child they had secured from Elling. Then Elling asked the little girl to meet him outside of the house after dark, when he appeared with horse and buggy and carried her away surreptitiously. He took her back to Jefferson Prairie. Mr. Clausen got hold of this matter and formulated the facts into a complaint against Elling, for stealing the child from the Catholic family. The result was a split in the church. Elling left and a few went with him, among whom were Gunnuf Tollefson's parents. From that time on, Elling held meetings separately, and he never afterwards became united with Clausen or his friends. Gunnuf Tollefson was present when this arraignment of Elling's conduct was read by Rev. Clausen after a regular service in the Heg barn. I have no comments to make.

XXXVI.

J. W. C. Dietrichson.

Then came Rev. J. W. C. Dietrichson, from Norway. He was the first Norwegian Lutheran minister in this country who had been regularly educated at the university of Norway, and regularly ordained by a Norwegian bishop.

Johannes Wilhelm Christian Dietrichson was born at Fredrikstad, Norway, April 4, 1815, and died at Copenhagen, Denmark, from a stroke of paralysis, November 14, 1883. He was buried at Porsgrund, November 28, 1883.

A dyer by name P. Sörenson in Christiania, Norway, induced Mr. Dietrichson to go as a minister to his countrymen in America. Mr. Sörenson encouraged him not only with words, but also with a sum of money for the mission. After some hesitation, Dietrichson finally consented, and with a view of going to America, he was ordained in the Oslo church by the bishop of Christiania Stift, February 26, 1844.

On the 16th of May, 1844, he went on board the brig "Washington," in Langesund, Captain H. Smith commanding. This ship was loaded with iron and emigrants, and bound for New York, and on May 21st, the wind permitted the captain to weigh anchor. There were in all, 112 persons on board, including the sailors. Mr. Dietrichson acted as chaplain during the voyage. He also taught the children, so that on this occasion, the emigrants had both church and school. They landed in New York, July 9.

In New York, Dietrichson preached twice for Norwegians, Swedes and Danes, the 6th Sunday after Trinity, and the following Sunday.

He landed in Milwaukee, August 5, 1844. From Milwaukee he went on to Muskego, where he stopped a short time with Rev. C. L. Clausen, whose ordination he recognized as regular, in every respect.

On one of the last days of August, 1844, Dietrichson arrived on Koshkonong, and there he at once began to preach and organize the people into congregations.

From the records kept by him of those important events in the Norwegian American

Lutheran church history, I make the following extract, translated from the first page of the Protocol or Register:

"Friday, the 30th of August, 1844, I, Johannes Wilhelm Christian Dietrichson, from my fatherland, Norway, regularly ordained minister in the Lutheran church, held service for the Norwegian settlers living on Koshkonong Prairie. In this first service which I held here, said day's afternoon, I preached in a barn at Amund Anderson's,* on the words in Rev. 3, 11, 'Behold I come quickly; hold that fast which thou hast, that no man take thy crown!' I sought according to the grace God gave me to impress solemnly, upon my countrymen's hearts, the importance of holding fast to the true saving faith and to the edifying ritual of the church of our fathers here in this land divided by so many erroneous sects. On Sunday, September 1, the 13th Sunday after Trinity, I held a service in the forenoon, and also administered the Lord's supper, in the same place, in the presence of a numerous gathering. This was in the eastern part of the settlement.

"On Monday, September 2, I held service and

* In the northeast part of the town of Albion.—R. B. A.

communion in the western part of the settlement in the open air, under an oak tree on Knud Aslakson Juve's land."

Mr. Dietrichson at once proceeded to organize the people into congregations. The so-called East church, in the town of Christiana, was organized October 10, 1844, and the West church, in the town of Pleasant Springs, on October 13, 1844. "The erection of two houses of worship," to quote the language of my friend, Rev. Adolph Bredesen, of Stoughton, Wisconsin, "was begun in the fall of 1844, and pushed to completion. The Western church was completed first, and was dedicated December 19, 1844, by Pastor Dietrichson, assisted by his friend, Pastor Clausen, of Muskego. The Eastern church * * * was dedicated January 31, 1845. * * * These were the first two Norwegian Lutheran church edifices on American soil. The third was the Muskego church, dedicated March 13, 1845. The Koshkonong churches were both built of logs and were of the same dimensions, 36 feet long and 28 feet wide. In both, movable benches served as seats, a plain table, adorned with a white cloth and a black wooden cross was the altar, a rude desk was the pulpit, and the baptismal font was hewn out of an oak log. After dedi-

cating their churches, the two Koshkonong parishes sent a written call to Dietrichson, to become their settled pastor."

As has already been shown, the Muskego church was begun in the spring of 1844. It was used by Rev. C. L. Clausen in the autumn of 1844, but was not dedicated before March, 1845. It would be stating the matter accurately, to say that the first church begun and *built* by the Norwegian immigrants in this century was the Muskego church; but that the two churches on Koshkonong, were the first to be *dedicated*. In this statement, I do not take into account the meeting house built by Elling Eielsen, in the Fox River settlement in 1842.

Ole Knudson Trovatten became the first school teacher on Koshkonong, at a salary of $10 per month.

Dietrichson remained in America until the next summer, and on the 7th of June, 1845, he sailed from New York in the Swedish ship "Thore Petré," commanded by Capt. Anderson from Gefle, and bound for Stettin. After twenty-eight days he reached Elsinore, and from there he took a steamer to Norway. The next year, 1846, he published in Stavanger a little volume containing an interesting account

of his travels and labors among the Norwegians in America.

During his absence, the Koshkonong congregations were served by Rev. C. L. Clausen.

On July 11, 1846, he sailed from Norway to America again, and served his congregations until 1850, when he returned to Norway for good, and was succeeded the same year on Koshkonong by Rev. Adolph C. Preus.

Before returning to Norway in June, 1845, Dietrichson had visited a considerable number of the Norwegian settlements, and his book contains many important facts in regard to them. He visited our dear Fox River settlement in the spring of 1845, and says there were at that time about 500 Norwegians in the colony. Some of them, he says, were Presbyterians, some Methodists, some Baptists, some Ellingians, some Quakers and some Mormons. Elling had but few adherents, but about 150 were Mormons. Ole Heier (Omdal) "was bishop and could heal the sick," Gudmund Haugaas was "high priest after the order of Melchezedek in the church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints." He was also "counsel of the highest Mormon bishop." Dietrichson preached in the Fox River settle-

ment the 4th Sunday after Easter, 1845. Gudmund Haugaas was present, and at the close of Dietrichson's sermon he said: "I desire to say a few words concerning the things the minister has uttered, if the audience will stop a moment; at least I suppose the minister will stop." Dietrichson did not stop. He had visited Gudmund Haugaas at his house the day before and had had a talk with him. There he saw, hanging over his sofa, a fac-simile of the golden tablets. The writing, he says, was a strange mixture of Greek, Hebrew, Syriac and other letters and of strange figures like Chinese writing, so that it was impossible to make out a single word.

XXXVII.

List of Leaders.

As I am now rapidly approaching the end of my story, I will once more call attention to the names of the chief leaders and promotors of Norwegian emigration, of the founders of settlements, and of the first preachers. Their lives have been discussed

more or less fully and I will here simply present their names collectively. They are:

Kleng Peerson.
Knud Olson Eide.
Lars Larson (i Jeilane).
Gjert Gregoriuson Hovland.
Knud Anderson Slogvig.
Björn Anderson Kvelve.
Halstein Torrison.
Nils Röthe.
Ole Rynning.
Ole Nattestad.
Ansten Nattestad.
Hans Barlien.
Ole H. Aasland.
Johan Nordboe.
Gullik O. Gravdahl.
Captain Hans Friis.
Gudmund Sandsberg.
Ingebret Larson Narvig.
Hans Gasman.
Knud Langland.
John Luraas.
Sören Bache.
Johannes Johannesen.
Gunnul O. Vindeg.
Odd J. Himle.
Nels S. Gilderhus.

Nels Bolstad.
Amund Anderson Hornefjeld.
Thorstein Olson Bjaadland.
Lars Dugstad.
Johan Reinert Reierson.
Elise Warenskjold.
Ole Canuteson.

The pioneer preachers are:

Ole Olson Hetletvedt.
Björn Hatlestad.
Jörgen Pederson.
Ole Heier
Gudmund Haugaas.
Knud Pederson.
Hans Valder.
Elling Eielsen.
C. L. Clausen.
J. W. C. Dietrichson.
Even Heg.
Endre Osmundson Aaragebö.
Herman Osmundson Aaragebö.
Kleng Skaar.
Aslak Aae.
Peder Asbjörnson Mehus.
John Brakestad.

Such was the beginning of Norwegian immigration in the United States, in the 19th

century. From 1821 to 1840, is the first chapter of the history of the Norwegians in this country. I have described the immigration proper, down to the end of the year 1839, and the formation of the first six settlements, the last of which (Koshkonong) was started in 1840, while I have given some account of the first three settlements in Texas (1850), and sketched the beginnings of religious work down to the middle of the year 1845.

XXXVIII.

Pioneer Life.

How our fathers toiled and how much they suffered, we, their descendants, who are now enjoying the fruits of their labors, can never realize or know; and we owe them a debt of gratitude which we can never pay. The best we can do, is to live worthy lives, and try to keep green the memories of those who did so little for themselves and so much for us.

An interesting volume might be written, describing the life in those early Norwegian settlements. Our libraries abound in biographies of great men, kings and potentates; but good

books on the life of the common people are scarce; and yet it is far more important and interesting to know all the little circumstances that sway and control a people, than it is to study the life of a prince who has but few feelings in common with the masses, and who is socially far removed from them. In perusing the foregoing pages, have my readers thought of all the toils, privations, hopes, fears, anticipations and misgivings of our dear settlers in Kendall, in Illinois, and in Wisconsin? Have you realized what the parting with dear friends in Norway meant? Did you travel with them, in your imagination, the long weary way across the Atlantic? Did you accompany them in your sympathies on the canal boats and through the unfrequented forests on the frontier? Have you thought of the immigrant's exposures, and of his patient industry? All these things must be considered by the reader who would fully realize what hardships had to be endured by those who braved the dangers and privations of a new country, made homes and fields and gardens, and prepared the way for advancing civilization. To draw a picture of the life of the pioneer Norwegian settler would require the hand of a master,

nor do I think the tale could be properly unfolded by any one who has not had personal experience.

Go, in fancy, with the new comer to Koshkonong in 1840; watch him select the site for his future home; trudge with him the long way to Milwaukee, where he enters the land at the government land office, his little family, in the meantime, living in or under his covered wagon. Foot it back seventy miles and note the happiness of the wife and children when they see him return. Watch our pioneer settler while he builds the first shelter for his family, that little log cabin or dugout with one room, twelve by fourteen or less, and an attic. Notice with what hospitality he shares these scanty accommodations with two or three other families who come the next year to become his neighbors. Think of the resignation with which they dispensed with such things as could not be had or which they were not rich enough to buy. And yet some of the old settlers will tell you that they were quite comfortable in those rough dwellings, and that they had much real enjoyment. From similar homes came many of the greatest men that America has produced.

Then comes the turning of the sod to make

fields. On the prairie, this was easy enough; but in the timber, what a lot of trees had to be removed! Did you ever see one of those huge breaking-plows? On its beam, which was from eight to twelve feet long, there was framed an axle, on each end of which was a wheel, sawed from an oak log. This wheel held the plow upright. It was a sight worth seeing, when a ten or twelve year old boy drove an ox team of six to ten yoke, and the heavy, queer-looking plow, with its coulter and broad share was turning the virgin soil in black furrows two to three feet wide. And there is lots of work to be done. The husband and wife and children are all busy from early in the morning until late at night, building fences around the farm, hunting the oxen and cows on the boundless prairies and meadows, through the heavy dews, early in the morning and late in the evening. Prairie-fires sweep over the country yearly, and have to be fought by the whole neighborhood of settlers; and what little they have to sell is taken in "Kubberulles," a kind of wagon made with wheels sawed from oak logs, to Milwaukee, or to Chicago, the nearest markets.

The timber has been cleared, and the prairie sod has been turned, and the decaying vege-

tation produces malaria. The season of fever and ague has come. We visit a little log cabin, and find all its occupants sick. In this home and in these surroundings, which required all the patience and resignation that could be mustered in health, sickness wears a darker garb, and the new settlement always gets a double amount of sickness. The few distant neighbors are afflicted in a similar manner and can render no assistance. The poor invalids need stout hearts and steady nerves not to quail under their affliction, and repent the day when they resolved to emigrate; but the bridges are burnt behind them and there is nothing for them to do but make the best of it. How gloomy the world looks through those bilious eyes with throbbing temples and aching limbs! Death would be a relief to that homesick heart. There were seasons in the Fox River settlement and on Koshkonong, when nearly all the inhabitants were prostrated by fever and ague. A couple of fortunate individuals, whose constitutions were proof against sickness, would then go from house to house, give the patients some medicine, go to the spring for a pail of water, carry a pail of gruel with them, and leave a little for each patient and then return to watch over their

dear ones at home. Note the happiness in the faces and the tenderness in every word as these messengers come on their daily errands of mercy. Surely those good deeds done in obscurity are written in the great book.

We need not wonder at the friendships that grew up among those early settlers. They were thousands of miles away from their kindred and as they lay with fevered brows listening to the howling of the wolves and thought of their neglected cattle, wasting crops and hapless lot, you can imagine what it meant to have a neighbor come in with sympathy for their sufferings and with water for their parched tongues. When the neighbor told his deeper tale of woe, and how he had surmounted it all, the countenances of our immigrants would brighten and they would forget their pains for a time. They learned to appreciate the value of human sympathy and kindness, and they rallied from their sufferings with their natures purified and strengthened for the battle of life.

In his carefully prepared address delivered at the dedication of the Pioneer monument at East Koshkonong, Wis., October 10, 1894, my friend, Rev. Adolph Bredesen, uttered the fol-

lowing eloquent and truthful words about the old Norwegian pioneers:

"In 1890, according to the last national census, more than 322,000 natives of the kingdom of Norway were then living in the United States. Today the Americans of Norwegian birth or parentage number probably not far from 650,000, or about one per cent. of the total population. Half a century ago, the number was probably somewhat more than 5,000, of whom about four-fifths had domiciled in southern Wisconsin and northern Illinois, about 3,000 on this side of the state line and 1,000 on the other. The oldest of these settlements was that on Fox river, near Ottawa, Ill., dating from 1834. The first Norwegian settlement in our own state was, doubtless, Jefferson Prairie in Rock county, and Ole Nattestad, who settled there in 1838, seems to have been the first Norwegian settler in Wisconsin. The Koshkonong, Muskego and Rock Prairie settlements all seem to have had their inception in 1839. The three strongholds of our people, fifty years ago, were Koshkonong, with seven or eight hundred souls, Muskego in Racine county, with about six hundred, and the Fox River settlement with about four hundred and fifty. Wisconsin, now so populous and

wealthy, was, in those early days, still a territory and almost an unbroken wilderness, the happy hunting ground of the red men. There was not a mile of railway within her borders, and even passable wagon roads were few and far between. Horses were scarce. I am told that the seven or eight hundred Norwegians on the Koshkonong prairies had one horse between them and that a poor one. 'Buck and Bright' and a *Kubberulle* or other primitive wagon, were about the only means of transportation, and Milwaukee, or Chicago, was the nearest market. Milwaukee was a city of about 7,000 inhabitants, and Madison, our beautiful capital city, was an ambitious village of 700, while the total population of the state was about 35,000.

"Our Norwegian pioneers were poor, but they were not paupers. They had not come here to beg and steal, nor to sponge on their neighbors. It was not their ambition to be organ grinders, peanut venders or rag-pickers. They had come to make by the sweat of their brows an honest living, and they were amply able to do so. They possessed stout hearts, willing hands, and robust health, and nearly all had learned at least the rudiments of some useful trade. And the women, our mothers and

grandmothers, God bless them! were worthy consorts of the men who laid low the giants of the forest, and made the wilderness rejoice and blossom as the rose. They girded their loins with strength. They were able to stand almost any amount of privation and toil. They were not afraid of a mouse. They were in blissful ignorance of the fact that they had nerves. They knew nothing of 'that tired feeling,' and did not need the services of the dentist every other week. They did not have soft velvety hands, as some of us, who were bad boys, had reason to know; but for all that they had tender, motherly hearts. They could not paint on china, or pound out 'The Mocking Bird' on the piano, but they could spin and knit and weave. The dear souls could not drive a nail any better than their granddaughters can, but they could drive—a yoke of oxen, and handle the pitchfork and the rake almost as well as the broom and the mop. Our mothers and grandmothers did not ruin our digestion with mince-pie and chicken-salad, but gave us wholesome and toothsome *flatbröd and mylsa* and *brim* and *prim* and *bresta*, the kind of food on which a hundred generations of Norway seamen and mountaineers have been raised.

"Our Norwegian pioneers were ignorant of

the language, the laws, and the institutions of their adopted country, and in this respect were, indeed, heavily handicapped. The German immigrant found compatriots everywhere, and, at least, in all the larger cities German newspapers, German officials, German lawyers, doctors, and business-men. The Norwegians had not a single newspaper, and, outside of a few struggling frontier settlements, there was practically not a soul with whom he could communicate. But though our pioneers were ignorant of the English language, they were not illiterates. They had books and could read them, and by and by astonished natives were forced to confess, 'Them 'ere Norwegians are *almost* as white as we are, and they kin read, too, they kin.' If in those early Norwegian settlements books were few, a family Bible and some of Luther's writings were rarely wanting, even in the humblest homes. If the people were not versed in some of the branches now taught in almost every common school, they were well grounded in the Catechism, the *Forklaring*, and the Bible History, as all their bright and good grandchildren are today.

"The houses of our pioneers of fifty years ago were log cabins, shanties and dugouts. Men and women alike were dressed in blue drilling

or in coarse homespun, brought over from the old country in those large, bright-painted chests. In 1844, I am told, not a woman on Koshkonong prairie was the proud possessor of a hat. Some of the good wives and daughters of those days sported home-made sun bonnets, but the majority contented themselves with the old-country kerchief. Carpets, kerosene lamps, coal stoves, or sewing machines, reapers, threshing machines, top-buggies and Stoughton wagons, were things not dreamed of.

"Among these pioneers of Norwegian immigration were also the pioneers of our Norwegian Lutheran church, to whom this monument is dedicated."

He who continues the story of Norwegian immigration will find a rapidly increasing population and many new settlements to deal with. The materials continually grow more abundant and complicated. The Norwegian group of our population is today scattered throughout the United States. There are hundreds of churches and ministers, scores of newspapers, and a large number of colleges and academies. Scandinavian professorships have also been established in many of the leading American universities and colleges. The writer of this

volume had the honor of filling the first chair of Scandinavian languages in an American university.

This large body of Norwegians become Americanized fully as rapidly as any other class of immigrants from the European continent. They acquire the English language easily, and make most loyal citizens. They are by nature industrious and thrifty and pay much attention to the proper education of their children. It is universally admitted that the Norwegians are among the most desirable immigrants to this country from Europe. While the Norwegians have filled a considerable number of offices, national, state, and county and as a rule with great credit to themselves, they are not an office-seeking class. The Norwegian press is, as a rule, enlightened and exceedingly loyal to the highest interests of America and her institutions.

APPENDIX

Brief Sketch of the Author.

Assuming that some of the readers may be interested in learning something about the author of this volume, and in as much as he is a descendant of one of those who constituted the exodus of 1836, a brief sketch of him is here given. It is copied, with some omissions, from the Madison, Wisconsin, *Democrat*:

"Hon. Rasmus B. Anderson, the Norse scholar, was born in the township of Albion, Dane county, Wis., January 12, 1846. His father, Björn Anderson, came from Norway in 1836.

"Rasmus B. Anderson grew up on the farm of his parents in Albion, and as a boy he diligently attended the public school. He also received instruction from Carl Johan Rasch at the parsonage of Rev. A. C. Preus on Koshkonong.

"From 1862--1865 he attended the Norwegian Luther College at Decorah, Iowa, and is a

member of the first class of alumni of that institution. In 1866 he was made professor of Greek and modern languages at Albion Academy near his home.

"On account of his success at this school he attracted the notice of the authorities of the University of Wisconsin at Madison. Having severed his connection with Albion Academy, he spent the spring term of 1869 as a post-graduate student in the University of Wisconsin, at the end of which time he was made an instructor in languages in the institution. He served in this capacity until the summer of 1875, when the professorship of Scandinavian languages and literature was created for him. Before this time he had lectured on Scandinavian subjects, and had, as an instructor, taught the Scandinavian languages. He also founded a Scandinavian library in the university. This project received the cordial support of the famous Norwegian violinist, Ole Bull, who, on the 17th of May, 1872, (Norway's natal day), gave a concert in Madison in aid of the enterprise. Prof. Anderson and Ole Bull were very warm friends. Madison was for some years Ole Bull's American home. Together they conceived many a scheme for the spread of the fame of Norway and the Norsemen. Among

other things they formed a plan and started a fund for the erection of a monument in honor of Leif Erikson. This monument was erected in Boston in 1887. In 1872 Prof. Anderson visited Norway in company with Ole Bull to extend his acquaintance with the literature and scholars of northern Europe. On this trip he met the Norwegian poet, Björnson, with whom he traveled on foot through some of the most delightful parts of Norway. Several years later Björnson visited America, and made a lecturing tour among his countrymen throughout the northwest, under the auspices of Prof. Anderson, at whose home in Madison he was a frequent guest.

"Prof. Anderson has been a prolific writer. He began to write for the press at the age of 19, and he has ever since been an extensive contributor to both Norwegian and American periodicals. He has contributed also to Johnson's Universal Cyclopedia, McClintock & Strong's Cyclopedia, and Kiddel and Schem's Year Book of Education, to the American Supplement to Encyclopedia Britannica and to the last edition of Chamber's Encyclopedia. He is also one of the editorial staff of Funk & Wagnall's Standard Dictionary of the English Language. His interest in the American common

school system has been great, and some years ago he made himself widely known by conducting an active controversy in defense of it with the Norwegian Lutheran clergy in the northwest.

"Prof. Anderson has lectured extensively both in this country and in Scandinavia. In 1874 he spoke in the house of the poet Longfellow to a select audience of literary celebrities on the subject of Norse Mythology, and in 1877 he delivered a course of four lectures upon Norse literature at the Peabody Institute in Baltimore.

"As an author of books he has won an enviable reputation. He began his career in 1872 with the publication of a collection of Norse folk-lore stories, called Julegave, now in the 7th edition. In 1874 he published a little book in Norwegian, entitled Den Norske Maalsag, and also his first book in English, America Not Discovered by Columbus, which gives a short account of the discovery of America by the Norsemen. Of this work translations have appeared in Norwegian, Danish, German and Russian.

"Prof. Anderson's most important contribution to literature, Norse Mythology, appeared in 1875. It contains an exhaustive and sys-

tematic presentation of the religion of the old Northmen. It is the only adequate treatment of the subject in the English language. It has been well received both in this country and in Europe, and has been translated into French, German, Italian and even into Danish. His next publication was Viking Tales of the North, 1877. This work contains a translation of the two old Norse sagas into English, and the Swedish author, Bishop Tegnér's poem, Frithiof's Saga, based upon them. This work also contains an introduction on saga literature and a biography of Tegnér. In 1880 he published The Younger Edda, a translation from Old Norse. This book is, as it is sometimes put, the New Testament of Norse mythology. During the years of 1881–2 he superintended the translation and publication of Bjornson's novels and stories, in seven volumes. In 1884 he published a translation of Dr. F. Winkel Horn's History of the Literature of the Scandinavian North From the Earliest Periods to the Present Time. His introduction to the translation of Kristofer Janson's The Spell Bound Fiddler contains an interesting sketch of Ole Bull.

"In 1885 Prof. Anderson was appointed by President Cleveland United States minister to

Denmark, which position he held until the autumn of 1889. Before receiving this appointment (in the fall of 1883) he had severed his connection with the university for the purpose of going into business.

"Prof. Anderson proved a valuable man at the Danish capital. He was thoroughly conversant with the language of the country before going there, and hence was in a position to profit much from his stay in the Athens of the north, where it was his good fortune to make the personal acquaintance of nearly all the scholars and artists of Scandinavia. On the election of President Harrison a petition, signed by the most prominent men of the three Scandinavian countries, was sent to Washington, asking his retention in Copenhagen.

"While in Copenhagen he became very popular, not only in literary but also in diplomatic and social circles. This did not, however, prevent him from being active in a literary way. In 1886 he published a translation from the Danish of Georg Brandes's Eminent Authors of the Nineteenth Century. Dr. Brandes is the most distinguished literary critic in Scandinavia,—the Taine of the North. In 1887 Prof. Anderson wrote the chapter on Ancient

Scandinavian Religion, which was published in a London work, entitled Non-Biblical Systems of Religion. In 1889 London firms published his translation from the Swedish of Dr. Viktor Rydberg's monumental work, entitled Teutonic Mythology, his revision of Samuel Laing's translation of The Heimskringla or the Sagas of the Norse Kings, and his translation of Dr. Carl Lumholtz's work Among Cannibals.

"Prof. Anderson now resides in Madison, Wisconsin, where he has a comfortable home.

"On July 21, 1868, he was married to Miss Bertha Karina Olson, of Cambridge, Wis. She was born February 11, 1848, at Björnerud near Christiania, Norway, and came to this country with her parents in 1852.

"Prof. and Mrs. Anderson have had five children, four of whom are living: Hannah Burena, born April 18, 1869, died April 18, 1870; Carletta Cathrina, born December 4, 1870; George Krogh, born November 7, 1872; Hjalmar Odin, born June 7, 1876, and Rolf Bull, born December 17, 1883.

"The literary work of Prof. Anderson has been enormous, and even a partial list of his original writings and translations would outrun the limits of this article."

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Yorkville 313, 421
Young, Brigham.....404, 405

Z.

Zimmer, Mr..... 193

CORRECTIONS.

Page 2—The population of Denmark in 1891 was 2,170,000.
Page 19—450 years, should be 350 years.
Page 25—Vogel Grip, should be Fogel Grip.
Page 30—Alex Fersen, should be Axel Fersen.
Page 57—Lisett, should be the Lizzard.
Page 94—Mrs. John S. Michell died March 12, 1896.
Page 101—Mrs. Serena Anderson died in January 1898.
Page 166—Tönnes Tollefson died in 1888, his wife in 1893.
Page 169—Knud Vindeg, should be Helleik Vindeg.
Page 249—Ole Nattestad married Oliva Hoiseth.
Page 256—Halsten Halvorson came from Numedal in company with the Nattestads.
Page 258—Kjimhus, should be Kjinhus.
Page 275—John Jacobson Einong, should be John Johnson Einong. His son John J. Einong lived in Fillmore County, Minn.
Page 279—The church was begun in 1844.
Page 291—John W. Nelson, should be John W. Johnson.

Page 292—Johannes Kvale frem near Carmöen, Norway Erik Anderson, half Vossing and half Valders; Ole and Staale Thorsteinson (Hagebustinger); Ole and Andres Lomen from Valders; Halvor Haga from Valders, and John and Nels Bräkstad from Voss came to Winnesheik County, Iowa, in June 1849.

Nelson Johnson and his brother Gjermund, Aslak Aae, Tollef Aae, Jocob Abrahamson (father of Hon. Abraham Jacobson), Iver Peterson Kvale, John and Jorgen Thune came there in July 1847.

At that time, what is now Decoroh had only two residents viz. Wm. Day and Wm. Painter. During the winter 1850–51 Abraham Jacobson worked for Mr. Painter and so became the first Norwegian resident of that city, which has since become so prominent among the Norwegians.

Page 293 The first man to set type on "Nordlyset" was Erik Anderson Rude.

Page 294- Reymert died in Alhambra, Cal., March 25, 1896.

Page 309 Halvor, in 8th line from bottom, should be Halvor Tovson Lyngflaat.

Page 422—Add this note: The girl was Mrs. Rufus Goddard, now of Adamsville, Quebec, Canada. Her sister is the wife of Mr. Kvam, the father of Mrs. Thomas Edwards, who lives at Ashland, Wis. The girl was not taken from Jefferson Prairie, but from the Fox River Settlement in La Salle County, Illinois.

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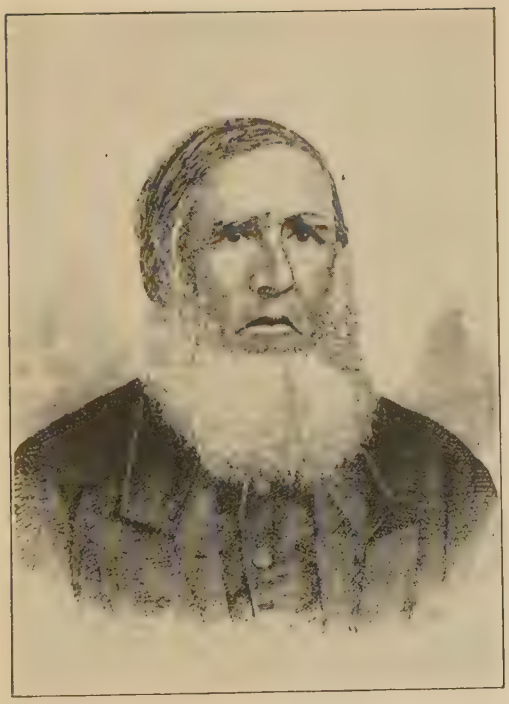

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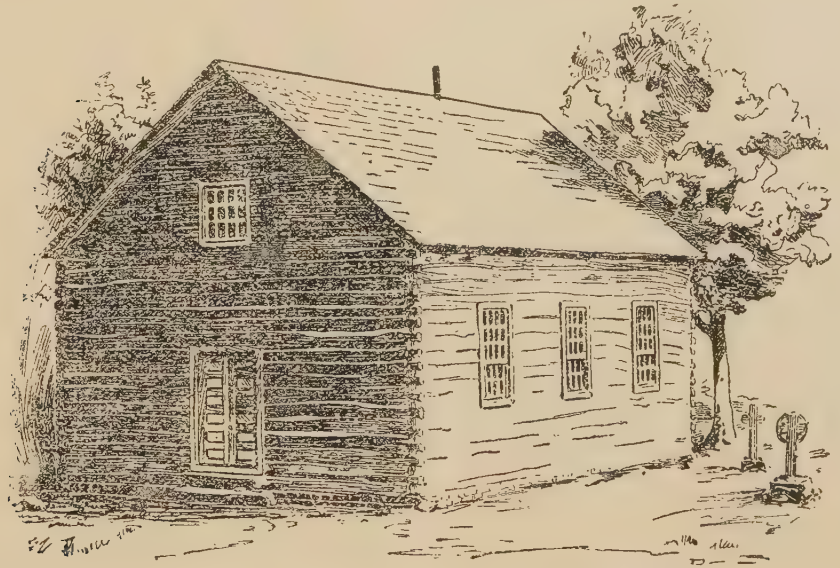

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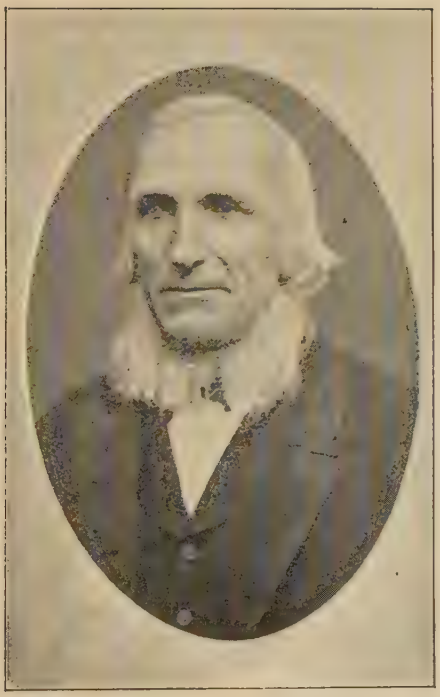

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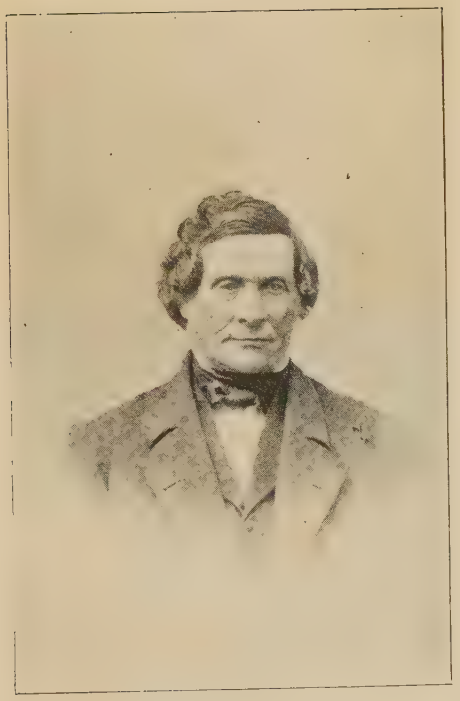

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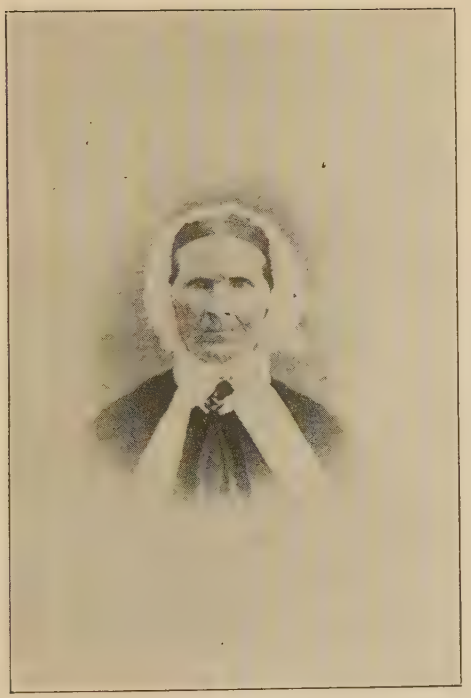

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Oak trees on Juve's farm where REV. J. W. C. DIETRICHSON preached Sept. 2, 1844.